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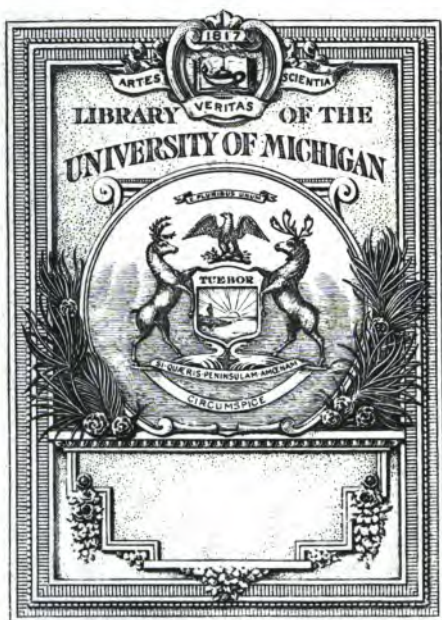
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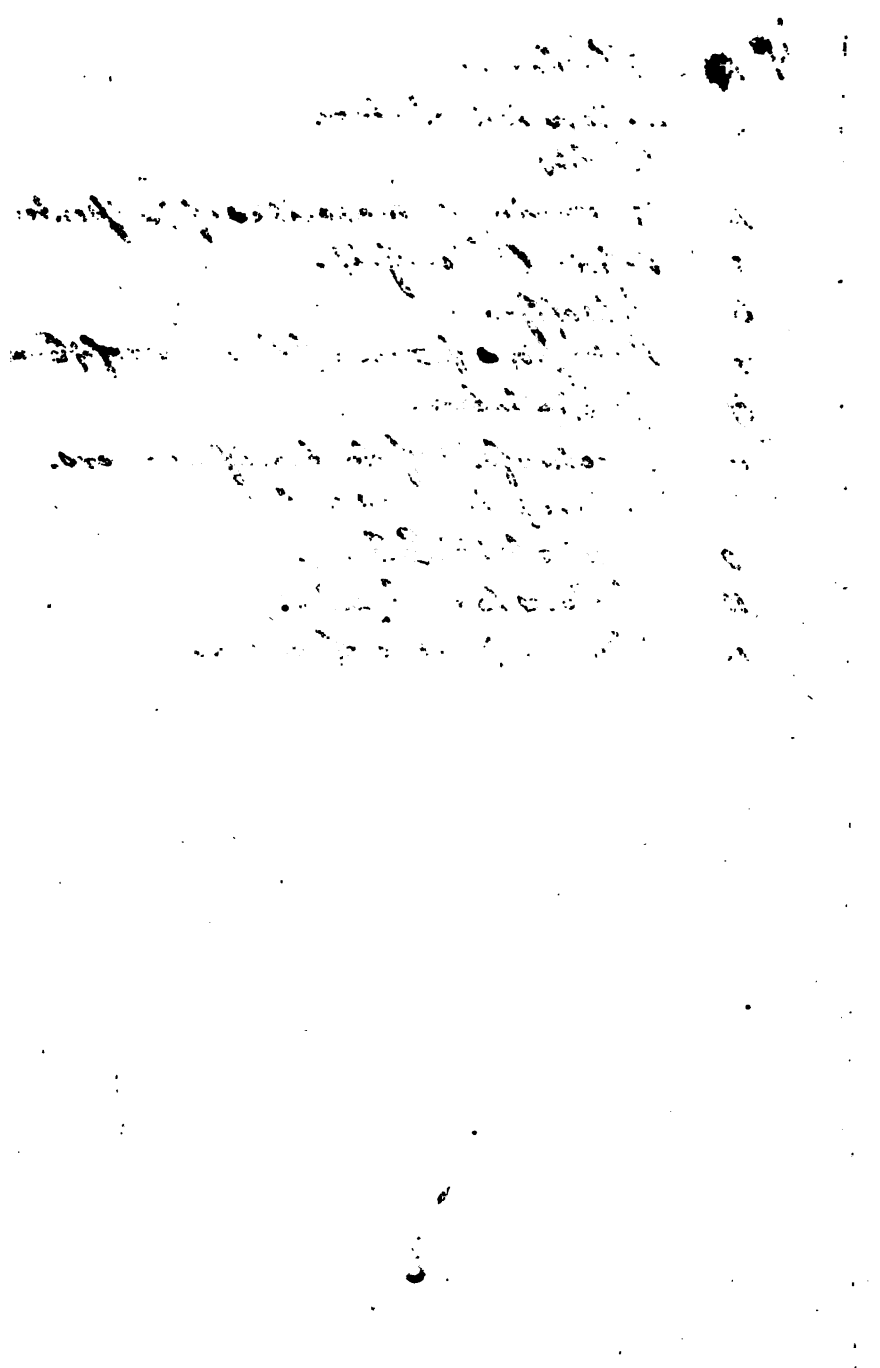
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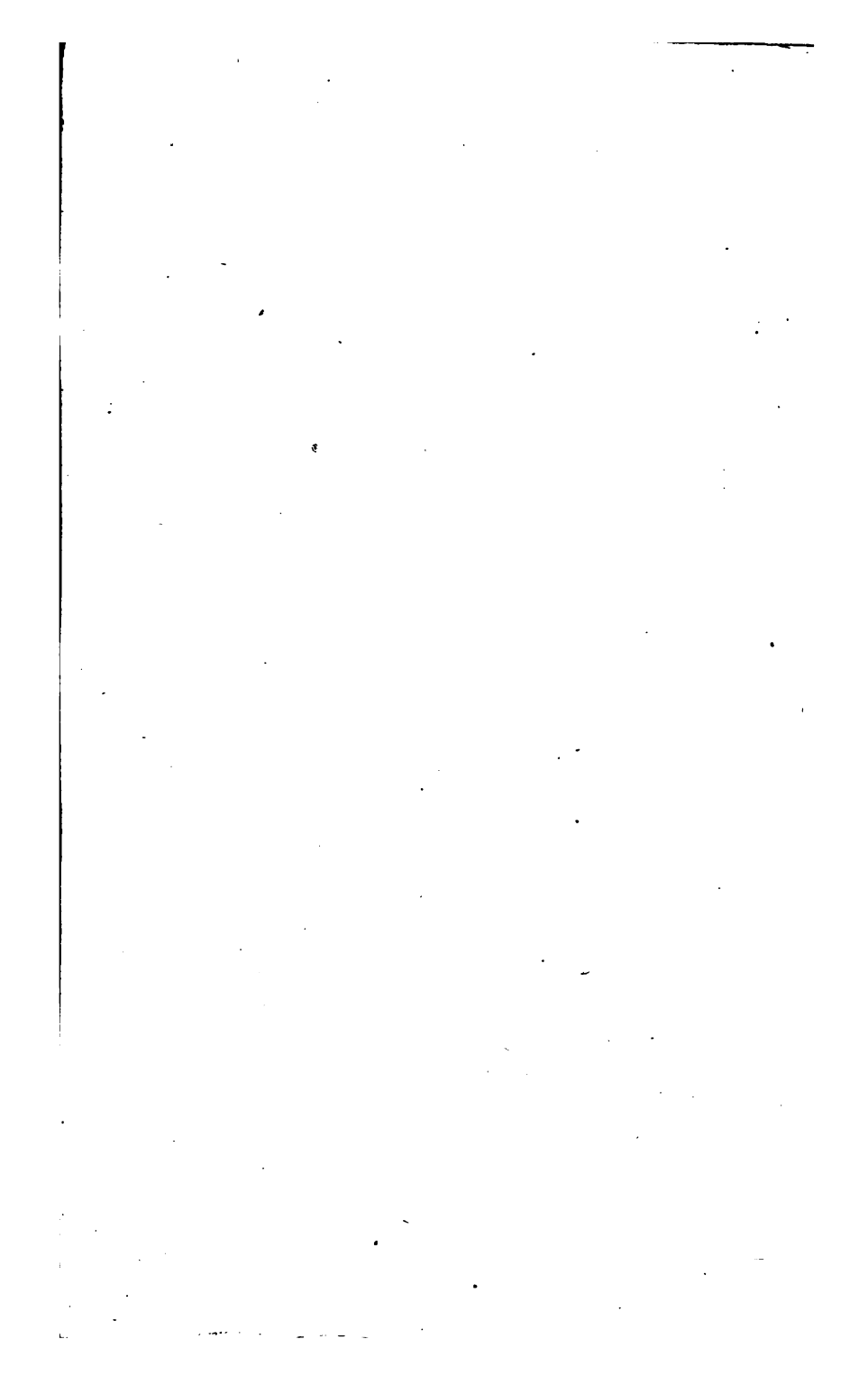
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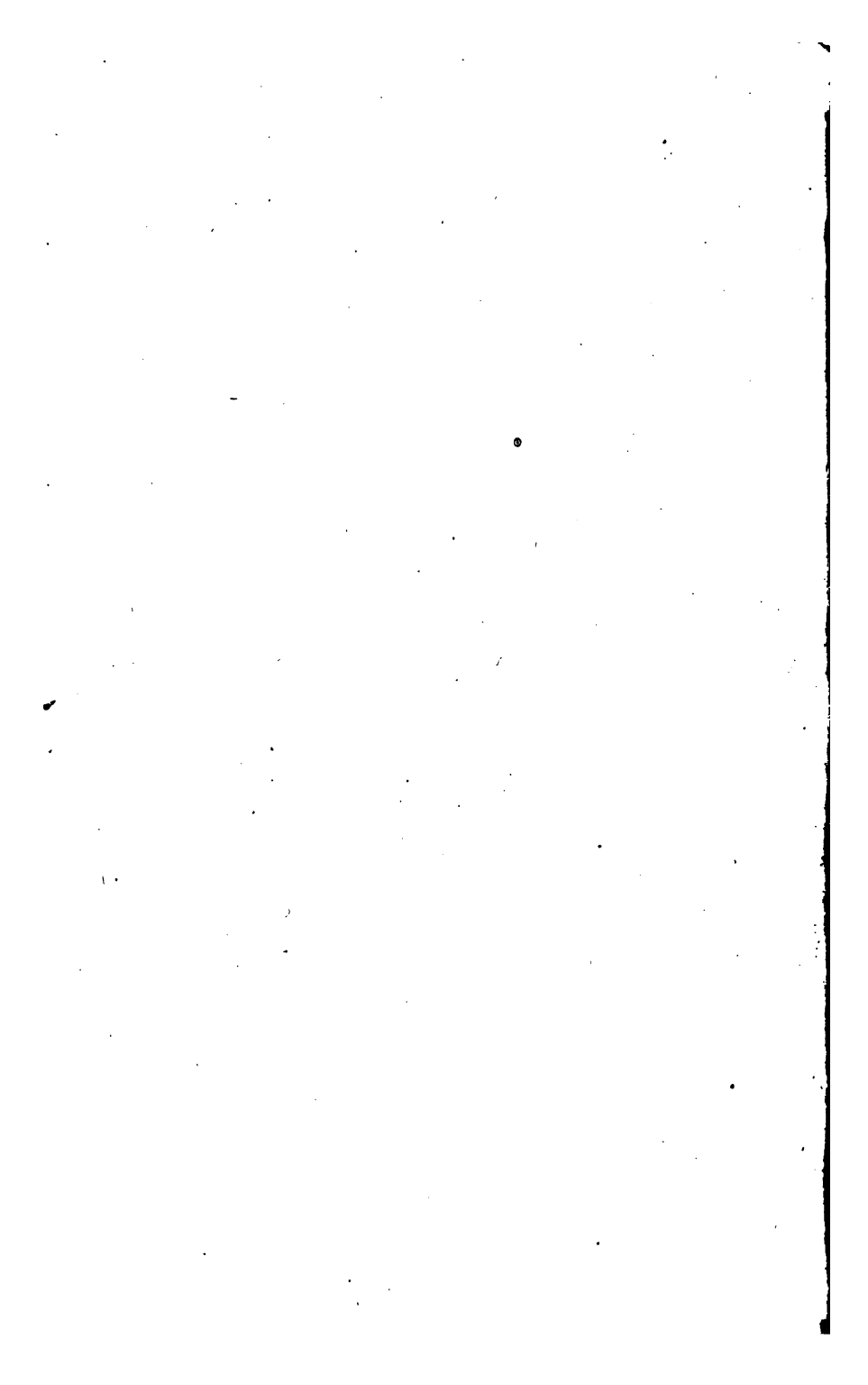
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- Volume*
- N^o 1 — Of Orthodoxy.
 - 2 — Letters to ^r Author.
 - 3 — Of Plots.
 - 4 — Of removing ^r Incapacities of ^r Discenter.
 - 5 — Political Friendship.
 - 6 — Acts of Grace.
 - 7 — Pretensions for an absolute Power of ^r Church.
 - 8 — Of Reputation.
 - 9 — Societies for Reformation of Manners.
Address to Magistrates.
 - 10 — Address to ^r Clergy.
 - 11 — Letters to ^r Author.
 - 12 — Essay on ^r Pride of Authors.







Henry Norman, August 6, 1754.

A
COLLECTION
OF THE
OCCASIONAL PAPERS
For the Year 1717.

V O L. II.

With a PREFACE; and a Table of
Contents, to both Volumes.

Prodesse quam conspici.
Lord Sommers's Motto.



LONDON: Printed for J. Knapton, at the Crown in
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without Temple-Bar. 1718.

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THE P R E F A C E.

 *WORD to the Reader is so Customary a Civility, that, if I had no Occasion for any Preface to this Second Volume, either with Regard to My Self or My Correspondents, yet it will be expected by every One who meets with this Collection, that the Book should open to him; as one would open a Door, with some Manners, and that he be introduced into the Company, and led to the Entertainment here design'd him, with some Token of Respect.*

I therefore take this Opportunity to congratulate my Readers upon the many Excellent Pieces publish'd of late, which have done so much Honour to the First profess'd Design of this Paper. The Author is far from any

A 2

Chagrin

Chagrin to observe; that the main Principles with which he set out, are supported by Learning and Good Sense, every way Superiour to his own. I may venture to say for my self, that no Man in the World is more devoted to the Service of the Protestant Cause and Interest; But I am sensible I could not, on this Account, have hop'd for that Regard my Writings have met with, had I not been so Happy as to be on the same Side with some of the best Writers of the Age.

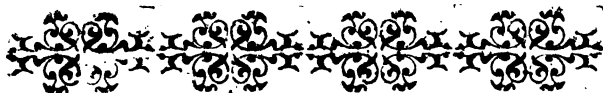
As to the Essay way of Writing, which I am fallen into, 'tis encourag'd, both by the Opinion of some of the Best Judges, and the Demands made from several Parts of the Country, as well as the City, now for Two Years. I shall only add further, concerning the Papers here collected, that I hope the Usefulness of the Arguments, and Variety of the Matter, will afford a Profitable Entertainment to such as read with Candour; and, in the great Instances at first proposed, may be serviceable to promote the Good of Mankind.

The Author must here, once for all, request of his Readers, that they will excuse the many Errors of the Press. In his Case they are unavoidable. His Resolution to remain unknown, has oblig'd him sometimes to trust his Papers to the Correction of those, to whom it might best suit the Publisher's Convenience to send them. And sometimes, not ha-
ving

ving Leisure to transcribe those Things which his Friends and Correspondents have writ, He has been forc'd to send at the same time, such very different Hands to the Press, as serves to make some Apology for the Printer as well as Himself. But He has also been oblig'd to employ several Printers; some of which have done their Part much better than others: Tho' He has all along been willing to bear with many Things in Them, rather than discover Himself.

Those Letters which now lie by the Author, particularly One from Norwich, and Another from Exeter, shall have a due Regard shewn to them, as soon as a proper Occasion offers. And those of my Correspondents who are willing to serve the Publick, by contributing any Thing that may render Themselves Considerable, whilst they allow Me to lie conceal'd, may expect all the Reputation this Paper is capable of giving them. To this I cannot forbear adding, Tho' I do not think my own Name of any great Importance, yet I should think it an Ornament to these Essays to have had the Liberty of inserting some other Names to which I am indebted. However, this I shall still take Care of, to oblige All those who are pleas'd to communicate any Thing that may serve my Design (according to my first Advertisement) by following their own Directions.

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THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. I.

O F
ORTHODOXY.

Chrysost. in Ep. Coloss. cap. 3. Homil. 9.

*Μὴ δὲ περιμεῖναις ἕτερον διδάσκαλον, ἔχεις τὰ λόγια τοῦ θεοῦ·
ὁ δὲ σε διδάσκει ὡς ἐκείνα.*

*Don't look for any other Teacher, thou hast the Oracles of God :
None teaches thee like these.*

*I choose rather to regulate my Faith by what God hath delivered,
than by what Man hath defined.*

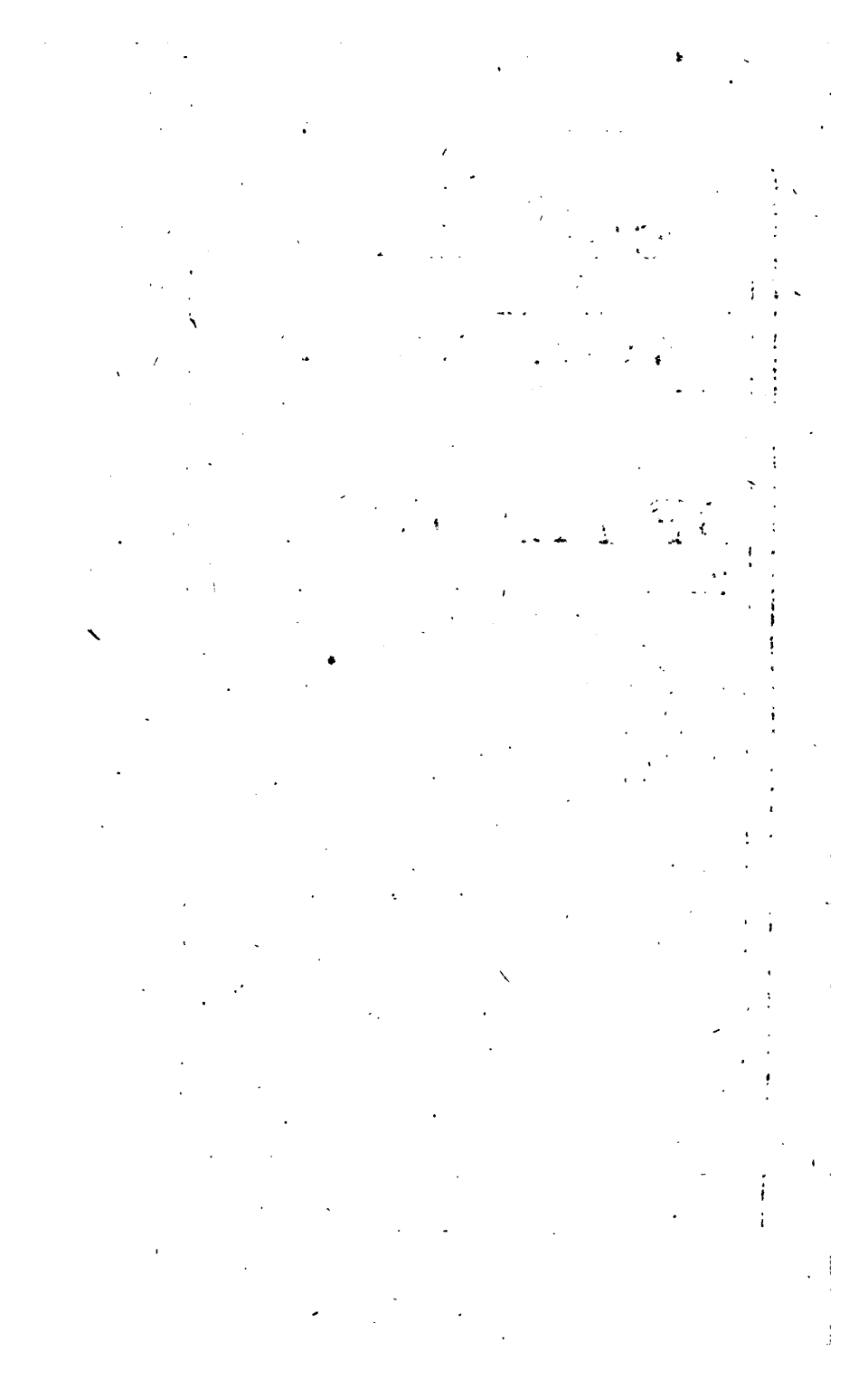
Arch-Bishop Wake's Commentary on the Church Catechism. Ed. 3. p. 24.

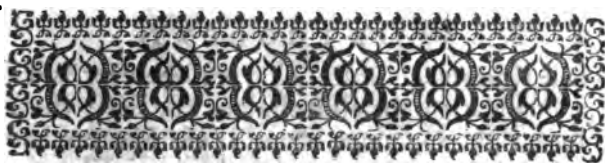
*It is not lawful for the Church to ordain any Thing that is
contrary to God's Word written; neither may it so expound
one Place of Scripture that it be repugnant to another.
Wherefore although the Church be a Witness and Keeper of
Holy Writ, yet as it ought not to decree any Thing against
the same, so besides the same ought it not to enforce any
Thing to be believed for necessity of Salvation.*

Articles of the Ch. of Engl. Article 20.

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O F ORTHODOXY.



Orthodoxy is one of our most favourite Words. It has near-upon as dear a Sound in our Ears as the Church it self. And in all Reason it ought to be valu'd and esteem'd in its true and proper Signification. 'Tis, without Question, a desirable Thing, to have just and true Opinions and Sentiments. There is certainly such a Thing as Truth: And in Matters of Importance it will amply reward the utmost Pains of all who sincerely enquire after it. And there is a certain Standard by which it may be try'd, *viz.* The true Nature and State of Things. Our natural Light is in common Cases the proper Medium by which this must be discovered; and when we are guided aright by it, and form true Judgments of Things, then are our Sentiments in common Matters, whether they relate to the Knowledge of Nature, or Civil Life, properly Orthodox. The meaning of which Word, is nothing else but right Opinion, be it about any Matter whatsoever.

But as Affairs of Religion are of the greatest Importance to Men, with respect to the Peace of this Life, as well as the Happiness of another;

and Knowledge in Religion must be ever laid as a Foundation for all Religious Practice; therefore right Opinions about these Matters have come, in that part of the World that is Christian, to pass more peculiarly under this Name. This is Orthodoxy.

A Word, you see, like those of the Church and Constitution, &c. originally of a very honest and well meaning Intention.

But 'tis Words of such good and valuable Meaning, that designing Men make Choice of to amuse and delude the more thoughtless and innocent Part of Mankind. Words of this kind they affix such a Sense to, as shall make them serve their own worst Purposes of Ambition, Lust of Power, and all kind of Oppression, Civil and Religious. Thus has it happened to this good Word Orthodoxy. Artful Men observing how generally a Love of Religion was attended with an high Value for Orthodoxy, (a Love of Religion always, indeed, implying a Love of Truth) They have, by degrees, so chang'd the meaning of the Word, as at length to form out of it an Engine to overturn all that was at first honestly and usefully intended by it.

Truth in Matters of Religion, is the same in its general Notions with all other Truths, being nothing else but the Agreement of our Notions with the true Nature and State of Things; those Things, I mean, about which Religion is conversant. And as natural Light is the proper Medium by which we must come at the Knowledge of common Matters, so had God vouchsafed no supernatural Revelation, we cou'd have come at no Knowledge about Matters of Religion, but by this natural Light. By it we must have

have made our Enquiries into Religion; by it alone we must have pass'd judgment, and determin'd what to approve as Orthodox, and what to condemn as the contrary.

But a Revelation from Heaven has been vouchsaf'd to Men, in which the Omniscient God, who neither can be mistaken himself, nor deceive others, hath made known the Truth to us about Matters of Religion. Therefore we may safely depend upon it, that what we are there taught, is Orthodox; and that which differs from it must come under the contrary Character. Not but the Nature of Things is the original and primary Standard of Truth still; but as this Revelation is admitted to come from God, who can neither be ignorant of the true Nature of Things, nor impose upon his Creatures, we need go no farther than this Book of God to know what is Truth and Error: Because whatever is taught for Truth there, we may depend upon the Credit of God for it, is agreeable to the Nature of Things. But then we are to remember, that this Revelation was vouchsafed for the Exercise and Improvement of our natural Faculties, and not with any design to render them useless. For 'tis by this Help that we are to come to the Knowledge of what God has taught us in this Revelation. We are not to expect to have the Knowledge of that which is contain'd in it in any supernatural Way. For had God intended in all Ages succeeding the Apostolical, to assist Men by immediate Inspiration infallibly to know the meaning of the sacred Writings, and to secure them from all Errors and Mistakes, it would have been altogether a vain and unnecessary Thing to have committed them to Writing. For
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he cou'd with as much ease this Way have communicated the Matter, as the Sense, of the Revelation. It was written with this Design and View, that we might search out the meaning in that Way in which we enquire into the Sense of any other Writings, viz. By the diligent Use of our own natural Powers, and the other Helps of Learning and Languages proper to assist our Faculties.

If in this Way we peruse it, endeavour to acquaint our selves with its true Meaning, and heartily and earnestly desire the common and ordinary Assistance of God; without any Enthusiastick Expectations of an infallible Guidance; we are in a sure Way to be Orthodox in the Notions we form thence of Divine Truths. The Measure of Orthodoxy is the Rule of Religious Truth; and that is the Holy Scriptures. These alone contain an infallible, and therefore, to us, a certain Account of the Truths that concern Religion. And accordingly this is always the Account of Orthodox Christianity in the Primitive Writers; which *Arnobius* gives us in few Words; * *Nihil sumus aliud Christiani: nisi magistri Christi, summi Regis ac Principis, veneratores.* We are called Christians, because we take Christ alone for our Master and Instructor, our Ruler and King.

But in process of Time, in direct Opposition to this short Profession, Men fell into the Humour of Creed-making. People took it strongly into their Heads, they were not so much to believe for themselves, as to make a Rule for

* Lib. 1. p. 20.

others. And then the Sense of Orthodoxy was shamefully perverted; and he was the Orthodox Man, not who agreed to the infallible Scriptures themselves, but to the Sense fallible Men imposed upon them: Not he who believed in Jesus Christ, but he who believed in those Creed-Makers.

At first, as may be easily imagin'd, there was a terrible Struggle to whom this same Privilege of stamping Orthodoxy shou'd belong. The contending Parties fought it manfully. They made Creeds to spight each other: And as Anathema's and dammatory Clauses were cheap enough, they dealt them about very plentifully.

In the mean Time, the cunning Bishops of *Rome* were watching all Advantages to their own Interest; and at length they persuaded the Christian World, to suppress all private Mints of Orthodoxy; and got the sole Mint fixed to the Place of their Residence; and settled the sole Right of Coinage for the future in themselves and Successors, as belonging to their spiritual *Regalia*.

At the Reformation Men seem'd to feel, as well as see, the Inconveniences of this Claim; and the many mighty Mischiefs that had ensu'd upon it. To get rid of this Arbitrary Power that had been thus usarp'd over the Minds of Men, and to assert to every Christian the just (tho' infring'd) Right of judging for himself, were among the profess'd and most valuable Ends of departing from *Papery*.

They who protested against the Errors and Inroachments of the Church of *Rome*, with one Mouth cry'd up the Bible as the only Rule; and

and cry'd down an infallible Interpretation. They seem'd all of one Mind in this, that the Scriptures contain'd all the Truth in Matters of Religion; which was necessary to be known: They thus declar'd, and they continue still for the most part to say, that every individual Christian, be he Layman or Clergyman, Bishop or Prelate, Cardinal or Pope, is a fallible Man; and may fall into Errors. And that when several fallible Christians meet in a Council, whether Provincial, National or Oecumenical, and consult and compound their several Fallibilities, they can't make up one common Infallibility out of them. They may, after Prayer to God for his Direction, after most solemn Vows made of Love to Truth, and Impartiality in their searches after it, say, that they lay the Holy Scriptures before them, and profess to fetch all their Sentiments in Religion thence; they may be yet mistaken and miss of Truth and Orthodoxy.

And yet by an unhappy turn of Thought, many with this Protestation in their Mouths, will be forming Tests of Orthodoxy for others; to which they will require Declarations of Assent, Subscriptions, and such other Methods of Submission as too much serve to continue in Men's Minds the perverted Notion of Orthodoxy. In direct Contradiction to their avowed Principles; and Declarations in this Case, they will bind down their Sentiments, nay, and their very Words upon their Brethren as the Test of Truth; to which if you will not subscribe, you shall be branded with the most odious Names; you shall be pass'd upon the World under the most hateful and horrid Character; you shall

be mark'd out as a Wretch to be shunn'd, like the very Plague ; as an Enemy to God's Truth, and to God himself.

But there are various Considerations, that will serve to evince the Invalidity and Injustice of such a Claim and Conduct as this : That will shew it to be at once unreasonable for any to usurp, and mean for any to allow or submit to, a Power of this kind in fallible Men.

There is no Foundation for it in Nature. For in this respect, if in any, undoubtedly all Mankind are on a Level. He that pretends to dictate his Sentiments to another, plainly breaks in upon the most universal Law of Equity ; and does that by his Neighbour, which he wou'd be very unwilling any other shou'd do by him again. And he who yields his Neck to this Yoke, easily betrays and gives up the most valuable and unalienable Right of a reasonable Creature ; to think for himself, see with his own Eyes, and in every Matter to judge according to the best Light he can get of the true Merits of a Cause.

There is no Warrant for any thing of this kind in sacred Writ. There every Man is allow'd and required to try for himself, and not to take his religious Sentiments upon Trust from others. There is nothing more opposite to the Genius and Spirit of the Christian Institution, than a Religion taken upon Content. It was the command of its great Author, to every Individual, Search the Scriptures ; it was the desire and advice of its first Preachers the Apostles, that all Christians wou'd for themselves try the Spirits, whether they were of God ; prove all Things, and hold fast that which upon their serious thorow search and enquiry, shou'd

appear to them to be Good, to be best. They were willing that what they said shou'd be look'd into, and examin'd, and that every one for himself shou'd see whether it was reasonable, credible, fit to be receiv'd or no. *Consider what we say. I speak as to wise Men, judge ye what I say.* This or something of this kind was always their Language. They were far from being displeas'd, or shewing any Resentment, when Persons took the Liberty of doubting, so far as to canvass what they communicated to them; when they saw any Men trying their Doctrines, Reasonings, Inferences, by those Scriptures on which they pretended to found them. So far were they from being uneasie and offended at it, that * to borrow Mr. Marvel's Expression on this Occasion, the *Bereans* were ennobled by Patent, are mention'd with the highest marks of Esteem by one of the sacred Historians, because they wou'd not credit *Paul* himself, whose Writings make now so great a part of the New Testament, until they had *search'd the Scriptures daily*, whether those things were so: And therefore they believed, being upon their own enquiry convinc'd of the Truth of what was said to them.

But this Practice is not only without warrant from Scripture, but 'tis likewise the most signal Affront, and the most injurious Reflection that can possibly be cast on those holy Writings. 'Tis denying their Perfection, 'tis saying all necessary Truth is not contain'd in them, or at least not in so good and proper Expressions as it ought to be: The Phrases are more exceptionable, and more liable to be wrested or mistaken, than

* *A. Marvel's Hist.*

some of our own. And thus it can never be consistent with the Honour which is due to Christ, as a Prophet. It looks as tho' we apprehended we know the Father, his Nature, Mind and Will, better than the Son did. Or at least cou'd cloath out as perfect Notions of Things, in better and wiser, and sounder Words, than he was either able or careful to make use of.

'Tis the greatest Discouragement that can be thought of from reading and considering this Revelation. If I can't understand them in my own Sense, if there is any Danger, that with all the Care and Pains I can take in the reading them, I may yet be damnably mistaken in the meaning of them, I shall be less thankful than I have hitherto been, that I have those Writings put into my Hand in a Language I can understand.

If it wou'd be much better, I am sure it wou'd be much easier for me to believe as others have done before me ; to believe as my Fore-fathers believed. And this I cou'd have done without seeing one Leaf of the Bible my self. I am satisfy'd ; other People have read this Book before I was born, they had more Time, more Judgment and Learning than I have, to be sure they understood it right, I'll acquiesce in their Interpretations. And while I am thus Orthodoxly dispos'd, you had better let me subscribe, for fear if I shou'd come to look into it my self, I shou'd have some Heretical Doubts arising in my mind ; And then I shou'd sign with more Difficulty, with less Satisfaction.

And let not my Reader. imagine me in this merely to rally ; for I assure him I am in earnest,

when I say I had rather have no Bible, than not have a Liberty of understanding it as I think reasonable.

Let the Capacity, Furniture, Diligence and Honesty of Men be what they will; how uncommon soever their Pretences may be to one, or all, of these; yet to make any Articles of Faith, or impose their Sense of Scripture upon other Men, is too great a Trust to be committed to them; unless they have the Spirit of Infallibility. When once they are assur'd themselves they can't err, and give the World sufficient proof they can't be mistaken, they may be allow'd to call all that agree with them Orthodox, and all that differ from them Heretics, but not till then. When a Person or Synod can say it seemeth good, it seemeth right to the Holy Ghost and to us, they are much to be blamed who won't listen to every thing that comes back'd with such an Authority. But when such a Guidance is not so much as pretended, 'tis by no means modest to expect an equal measure of Regard.

This Humour of Creed-making and Creed-imposing is one of the most grievous Instances of Persecution, and the grand Source of every other kind of it. If it be only their good Opinion of us, that our Fellow-Christians suspend upon Non-assent to their Confessions of Faith, they in a very inhuman and unchristian Way persecute us: 'Tis in it self barbarous, says Mr. *Marvel*, for these Faith-stretchers, whosoever they be, to put Men's Consciences upon the Torture, to rack them to the length of their Notions.

I understand the Words of another in the same Sense he does; here is the least harm done me in
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subscribing: But even then I am made to do a needless Thing merely to gratifie his Humour; which in Religious Matters I shall ever account Persecution. Or I understand them differently; judging his Sense to be wrong; in which Case, if I cannot be Orthodox without subscribing, I can't be Orthodox without being Insincere. And is this no Hardship, or too slight, now, to be call'd Persecution? But 'tis true in Fact, that Creeds, Confessions, and Articles, have been in every Age made the Engines of the most acknowledg'd and bloody Persecutions. It can neither be deny'd nor conceal'd, that they have been generally made to entangle Consciences, and contriv'd for some Party-Purposes; worded so as to reach the Intentions of shutting out and taking in; level'd against the Persons, Estates, Properties, Lives, as well as the Reputation and Consciences of particular Men. And to serve such Purposes, carried not always by the Reason of Things, and Strength of Evidence, but often by a Majority against both. And Truth, Error; Orthodoxy, and Heresy, are but Words, ordinarily speaking, in this Case, made use of to wrap up these vile Designs. And then certainly, tho' a Man be required to give a Reason of his Faith, yet he need not thereby look upon himself as oblig'd to give any Account of it to every such Demander, who evidently asks it merely with a Design to take some Advantage against him.

Now, if this be the Design of trying Orthodoxy, by Human, Fallible Tests and Forms, I believe it will be easily granted me, that this Notion of it must have the most unhappy Tendency to prevent and stifle Truth. 'Tis the greatest Enemy, and the most effectual Impediment

diment to the making or publishing any new Discoveries, how important, demonstrable, or useful soever they be. 'Tis a noble Security against growing Wiser, than those who went before us. With all the Advantages we have from their Labours, we must take great care we go not one step further than they did; not so much as venture to alter or explain a Phrase which they have adapted and consecrated; tho' perhaps it may have grown obsolete, and have much vary'd its Signification (as we see Words will) since they made use of it. Truth is never to be come at all at once: And there 'tis most likely in the greatest Measure, and with the clearest Certainty to be found, where Men are encourag'd to make the freest and most impartial Search after it; and the most publick, unrestrain'd, and honest Professions, when they think they have attain'd it.

For these, and other Reasons like these, I can't but dislike the abus'd, narrow, and uncharitable Notion of Orthodoxy, which has too long set Christians at variance one with another. I can't but disapprove of it, I say, where-ever I see it. 'Tis highly Arrogant in the Papists: because, tho' the Church of *Rome* asserts, she is far from proving, her self to be infallible; and therefore, tho' she is tolerably consistent in calling her self Orthodox, and all that differ from her Hereticks; yet she may be out: There may be great Mistakes in the Decrees and Catechism of *Trent*. But still I can write against their impos'd Canons and Traditions with some Temper, because they proceed fairly. They say the Bible, without their Glosses upon it, is not a sufficient and perfect Rule of Faith;
and

and that their Interpretations of it are as infallibly true as the Word of God it self. Grant them these Principles on which they go, and then they argue justly, that a Man must believe all that their Church believes in order to denominate him Orthodox;

But that Men who separate from this Church on the foot of a private Judgment; that pretend to no Infallibility, and own the Bible to be a perfect, adequate Rule, that needs no Additions to eke it out, and make it a complete Directory; that Men that live and breath upon this Principle, and can justify their own Conduct by nothing else; that they, while they are engaged in a pretended Defiance to this implicit Faith, shou'd yet make their own Sentiments, and darling Opinions, the Standard of Truth and Orthodoxy, is both an Iniquity and a Folly not to be endured. I have often thought it looks a little oddly in our Church, in her Articles to assert the Scripture is the only Rule, and that Men must judge for themselves, and then, at the same time to claim an Authority to the Church in Matters of Faith: This does not look, I must confess, as tho' she were altogether so consistent with her self, or so great and generous an Encourager of Freedom of Thought, as I cou'd wish.

But those that *Dissent* from her, tho' they go on the same common Principles in their Recess from *Rome*, yet have pretended to carry this their Notion of Liberty in Religious Matters somewhat further than the National Church has thought necessary. At least, I am sure, they have made a greater Noise about it. By their Talk, and their Writing, one wou'd be apt to think

*of those who suppose
that men who have
been so long in the
habit of dissenting to
think that they are*

think that all other Christians besides themselves were either Tyrants or Slaves. They were almost the only Persons who never usurp'd, or submitted to any Power of this kind. With them every degree of it has been represented as Anti-Christian. And really, by what I have observed of late among some of their leading Men, I was ready to envy them. I was jealous they wou'd have exceeded us in asserting Liberty in Matters of Opinion, and in managing all Differences of this kind with Temper, Charity, and Forbearance. But if one should judge of them as a Body by an unregarded Piece from that Quarter †, they are as warm and zealous for Orthodoxy, and can be as rude, as unmannerly, as unchristian; in their contending for it, as their Neighbours. This disconcerted Body, crumbled into numberless Parties and Divisions, agreeing as little with one another, as with the Church; they forsooth, have a Test of Truth and Error too: Tho' they plead for a Liberty of Dissenting from every body else, yet they wou'd fain, it seems, keep others from exercising their own Judgments, in following the Dictates of their own Minds. If we may take this Author's Word, they generally think the *Confession* of the Assembly of Divines, and their *Catechisms*, such Forms of sound Words as every Christian is oblig'd to hold fast; and to believe as well as his Bible; or else he is not Orthodox. I know the Dissenters too well, to think this is their Opinion as a Body. The doughty Author of this Performance, I take to be a Man of much the same Make, and I hope of as incon-

† *The Duty of holding fast the Form of sound Words.* Printed for J. Clark.

considerable a Figure among them, as the Advocate for the Church of England's being the sole Encourager of Free-Thinking is in the Church; whose Paper I consider'd in my last.

But I am sorry there should be among those strenuous Assertors of Religious as well as Civil Liberty, any one that should start up out of a Corner, thus pretending to a Dominion over the Faith and Consciences of other Men.

I would hope the Set of Men He professes such a Veneration for, had too great a regard to the Principles of Christian Liberty, and too great a value for the Scriptures, to pretend to set their own Composures on a level with them; or to make them a Rule to try the Scriptures by. For thus I find them expressing themselves, ** The supreme Judge by which all Controversies of Religion are to be determin'd, and all Decrees of Councils, Opinions of antient Writers, Doctrines of Men, and private Spirits are to be examin'd; and in whose Sentence we are to rest, can be no other than the holy Spirit speaking in the Scriptures.* Agreeably to what they say in the Answer to the second Question in their Catechism. *The Word of God which is contain'd in the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, is the ONLY Rule, &c.* By which one wou'd be ready to conclude, that they wou'd be far from reckoning their own Confession as worthy of regard, and as necessary to be believ'd and held fast, as the Form of Sound Words deliver'd by an Apostle: Those that were Men of any Piety or Learning among them, wou'd certainly have abhor'd the thought

* Assemblies Confession, Art. 10.

of thus by Consequence hoisting themselves up to an Equality with the first Founders of Christianity.

Note But so has it happen'd to them, as it even has, and will happen to all such Assemblies of Men. Let a Convocation, Assembly or Council, shew ever so much Regard to the Holy Scriptures themselves; tho' as in the third General Council at *Ephesus* under *Theodosius*, the Holy Scriptures are with the greatest Solemnity and Sincerity placed in an eminent Throne, to preside, and be as a Guide to all their Controversies; yet those that come after them, if they don't place their Decrees in the Room, they'll find a place for them by the Side of the Scriptures. However honestly the Council may mean all their Labours as a Comment, and an Help to understand the Text; yet sometimes designing Men will represent them, sometimes weak Men will mistake them, for a part of the Text; or which is the same Thing, of equal Value and Authority with the Text it self.

And thus 'tis insinuated, by this Believer in the *Assembly*, Christians may well do with respect to their Writings, because they annex Passages of Scripture, to what they assert, as a Proof. As a Proof, of what? That they were infallible Interpreters of Scripture? no, by no means: And as a Proof that they were not so, I must remind this Man of a Passage I meet with in the History of those Times.

In the *Assembly at Westminster*, (whose Works are now so much admired, after that our Church has shown her Contempt of them, and the Civil Courts treat them as pieces of Superstition) there were divers Members of both Houses of

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Parliament; and among the rest *one* Mr. Selden, who upon their Citing of their Texts of Scripture, sometimes took the Liberty to tell them, *Perhaps in your little Pocket Bibles with Gilt Leaves* (which they would often (says the * Historian) pull out and read) *the Translation may be so, but the Greek and the Hebrew signifie thus and thus.*

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So that their Proofs prove only thus much, that they think they have found out the Truth contain'd in the Scriptures, in the same way in which with equal Judgment, Learning, and Integrity, others may enquire over again, and find out the Truth after them.

But now if this were all these good Men were capable of, or pretended to, may they not possibly have mistaken the Word of God themselves? Am I to take their Interpretations at a venture, whether they agree with it or no? No, you may search the Scriptures. Possibly I have done so, and think them mistaken, what then, may I tell the World so? By no means; what, in spite of Evidence, must I think my self in the wrong, and these good Men in the right, and set to my Work again, and again enquire into the Holy Writings, and that till I find their Sense there? Is this a fair and honest Way of proceeding, to call the Scriptures my only Rule, and yet make another Rule to try the Scriptures by? Is this fetching my Notions of Religion from the Divine Revelation? Or is it not rather pressing the Word of God to speak my Sense? And a declar'd Purpose, that I will not hear God himself speaking in his Word, till he is Ortho-

* *Whitlock's Memor. of the English Affairs in the Reign of King Charles the I. p. 68.*

dox, and speak as I wou'd have him. Is not this in effect to make a Rule for God, instead of receiving one from him?

Well, but may it be said, must we not *hold fast the Form of sound Words*? Yes every Form of Words that we can be infallibly sure, are sound. Every Form the inspir'd Apostle deliver'd. But 'tis mere slight of Hand to clap a Form of a fallible Man or an Assembly of Men, in the stead of that deliver'd by St. Paul, and then repeat his Words concerning the Form that Timothy heard of him.

But are not those Tests of Orthodoxy useful to preserve Unity and Peace in the Church? Without them, what stop can be put to the numerous and extravagant Fancies of particular Men? The Church will be torn in pieces by contrary and opposite Doctrines, and the Voice of Peace will never be heard in the clamorous Noise of contending Parties.

Peace and Unity are certainly desirable Things; but Experience has long shewn, they are never likely to be attain'd by other Tests of Orthodoxy, than Christ has fixed in his Word. New Tests and Decisions usually raise new Quarrels and Disputes, and such as are often manag'd with more Animosity, than the former Differences they were design'd to put an End to. A Difference in Opinion may be brought to an end by a fair and calm Debate: But when precipitate Measures, and the Interposition of an Authority that is either controverted or rejected, has form'd Parties, rais'd Mens Passions, made twenty Controversies of one, and taught Men to hate each other heartily into the Bargain, it is so far from putting an end to the Difference,

ference, that it fairly puts an end to the hope of Reconciliation.

The old Gentleman at *Rome* seems to be sensible of this, and therefore with all his Infallibility he rather permits the *Dominicans* and the *Franciscans* to fight out their Quarrel, than hazard the Peace of his own Communion by interposing his Authority. And I am apt to think by this Time, he is fully satisfy'd, that he would better have consulted the Interest of his See, and the Honour of his Infallibility, had he observ'd the same Measures in relation to his Constitution *Unigenitus*.

But how shall we know where to settle at this Rate? We shall be in an eternal Fluctuation, doubting and disputing about every Thing.

Why so? Sure a Man may be fully and steadfastly perswaded in his own Mind of the Truth and Importance of what he holds in Religion, without believing himself to be infallible, or acting as tho' he were so. Keeping close to the sacred Writings is the only Way to be no more Childsen, tossed to and fro with every Wind of Doctrine; according as that Wind sits one while from *Rome*, another while from *Geneva*; one time from the Court, another time from the Convocation; by and by from *Ausburgh*; anon from *Westminster* or *Scotland*; as in *Constantine's* Time the Wind of Doctrine blew one way, in *Valens's* Time it blew about again another, according as the several Creed-makers prevail'd. Keeping to the Scriptures is the only Way to avoid this Tossing to and fro. Let Evidence determine, and the same Evidence will keep settled. Let not Party, Custom, Humour, Sophistry, Human Authority, or any other Wind from

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from what Quarter soever it blows, toss you about, or drive you away.

But wou'd you let in all manner of monstrous absurd Opinions into the Church? By these Tests of Orthodoxy, we hope to keep Men of dangerous Principles from the Credit and Opportunity, they might otherwise have as authorized Teachers of Truth, to mislead the unwary into their Errors.

But do these Decisions of Orthodoxy declare only against erroneous and dangerous Principles? How come there then to be among them, such as by turns censure and condemn each other?

Besides, as this Method has only a Prospect, and that a very uncertain one too, of securing against Error; so it has the most likely hazard of creating misunderstanding and censoriousness; And of losing that Goodness and Charity, and many other Christian Vertues that are of greater Consequence, than Truth it self in innumerable Cases. Indeed, such Opinions as tend to extinguish Goodness, and promote Uncharitableness, are themselves the most dangerous Errors. And if this Method may possibly keep out some dangerous Opinions, it however promotes others directly contrary to the Temper and End of Religion and Christianity. But in answer to this Plea, it may suffice to say, that it never yet has, nor in all likelihood ever will keep out Men of dangerous Principles, if all must be thought so, that agree not to the Mode of Orthodoxy. It may perhaps keep some from looking at all into such Questions, where they may fear their Enquiries will not issue in the Opinions that happen to be stamp'd for Orthodoxy among them: Nevertheless, if Men chance to have

have contrary Opinions, there are Inventions enough whereby they may keep their Opinions and their Orthodoxy too. Can it be believ'd, that all of the Church of *Rome* have Faith enough in their Church, and Sense little enough in themselves, to believe Transubstantiation? I say nothing nearer home: But some certain Disputes, in which Sense Articles may be subscribed, have some Meaning. Whether for instance, as Articles of Peace, or in any possible Literal or Grammatical Sense; or in fine, in a Sense in which they can be true, and not in a Sense in which they neither are, nor can be so. How then do such Tests answer their pretended Intention, if a Man becomes Orthodox by Subscription? Men may sit as long as they please, to determine what shall be subscribed for Orthodox, but methinks they might spare their Pains, considering that other Men will sit again upon them, and their Decisions; and if they can't believe them, will determine at last for themselves a Sense in which they can subscribe them, if they judge it for their Convenience so to do.

But if the Scripture be a Test sufficient, and the subscribing this enough to denominate a Man Orthodox, how shall we know how to rank and call Men?

True, this has something in it indeed. Were we come to this pass, we shou'd be at a sad Loss for *Shibboleths*, that is, for Party Names and Invidious Marks of Distinction: And shou'd be forc'd to share the Name *Christian* in common with all other Pretenders to it. Thus all who own'd the Bible, and believ'd in Jesus Christ were without any Distinction call'd Christians first at *Antioch*, notwithstanding their different Sentiments. Then
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each Squadron had not got some Man's Name at the Head of them, instead of that of Jesus Christ. And I can't think it wou'd be any just Matter of Lamentation, shou'd it ever come to be thus with the Christian World again.

But what wou'd you have them own'd and receiv'd as our Fellow Christians who err in Fundamentals, who differ in important Articles, and bring in damnable Heresies?

I never yet cou'd see a List of Fundamentals in Christianity. I have heard *Protestants* when upbraided by the *Romanists* for want of Unity, plead Agreement in Fundamentals. And I have heard the *Papists* hereupon demand such a List, but I never knew any *Protestant* hardy enough to produce it. That only in my Notion is a Fundamental mistake in Religion, which is inconsistent with a good Heart and a Religious Conversation. If a Man give any reasonable Evidence of his being impress'd with a fear of God, and that he is concern'd to know and do his Will, however he may err we are not to seat our selves in God's Throne; and because he is not Religious in our Way, reprobate him at once, and conclude him profane and ungodly. 'Twill be kind to use all the proper Methods we can, to convince and reclaim him: But to condemn, anathematize, and censure him as an Heretick; and then cry, away with him from the Earth; this is the very Spirit of the Inquisition, and a conduct worthy only of that shameless Church who has no bounds to her Claims, nor any Pity or Remorse to those that dispute them.

F I N I S.

THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. N U M B. II.

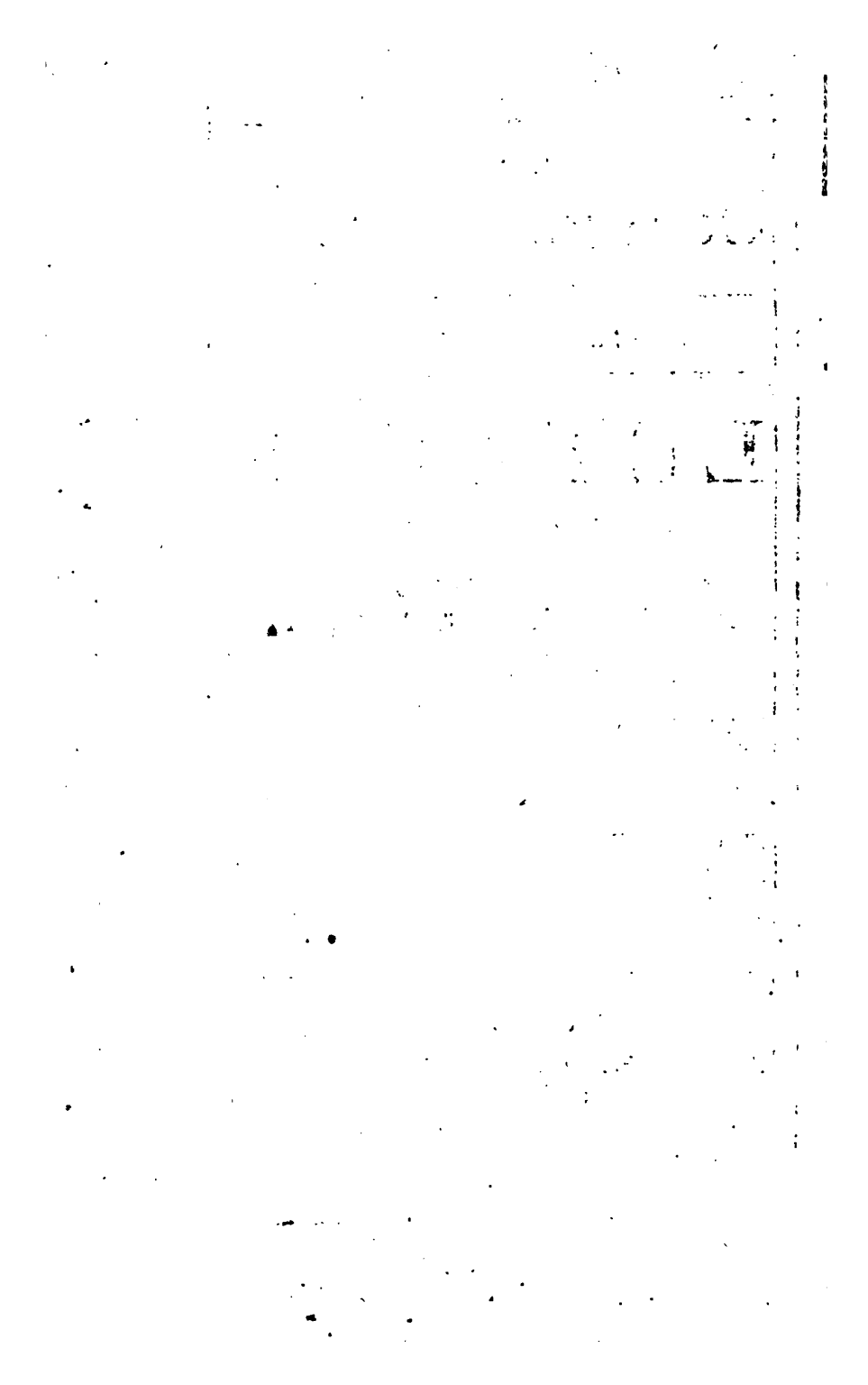
LETTERS
TO THE
AUTHOR.

CONTAINING,

- I. A Vindication of the Character of a Protestant from Modern Distinctions.
 - II. Of the *Roe-Buck* Procession, *January 19.* With a Judgment on Sir *H. M's* Pamphlet, *Down with the Mug-Houses.*
 - III. Of Canvassing for Places, especially by Churchmen.
 - IV. Of the Jumble and Mischief of unconnected Ideas.
 - V. Of the Dissenters writing little against Popery in King *James's* Time.
-

L O N D O N :

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LETTERS

T O T H E

AUTHOR.



HIS Miscellany comes Abroad into the World with all grateful Acknowledgments to my Correspondents, for the early Assistance so many of them have been pleased to give towards carrying on this Second Volume. As that Paper in the former, which was wholly taken up in such Letters, met with particular Acceptance; I cannot doubt but this will be at least an equal Entertainment, being upon several Subjects of Consequence or of agreeable Amusement. I lay them together, as they come in my Way, without being solicitous about their Order, any further, than to Number them according to the Account of their Subjects given in the general Title.

L. To

I. To the Author of the OCCASIONAL PAPER.

READING your Monthly Entertainments, I
 read with particular Pleasure your *Christianity*
 a Protestant, soon after your setting out. And as
 you have drawn Him, *Protestant* is the Name I
 should chuse to be call'd by above all others, except
 that which the Disciples first receiv'd at *Antioch*. I
 could not like to take my Denomination from any
 Man upon Earth. My Religion teaches me to call
 no Man Master or Rabbi, but Jesus Christ; and it
 seems one Way of calling Men so, to be call'd after
 Them instead of Christ. What if I should under-
 stand the Scripture the same Way as it was under-
 stood before me by some great Man, (*Luther*, or *Cal-*
vin, or *Arminius*, suppose)? I do not go into that
 Sense because it was any of theirs, but because I ap-
 prehend it to be the Mind of Christ. I might with
 equal Reason be made to bear the Names of all those,
 who in the several Ages of the Church have been of
 the same Mind with me; and understood the Scrip-
 tures as I do; as be call'd by the Modern Appellati-
 ons of a *Lutheran*, a *Calvinist*, or an *Arminian*. For
 tho' I shall thank any Man for his Help towards un-
 derstanding the Bible, I defy his Authority for the
 Reason of my Assent. I believe in Christ, and not in
Luther, or *Calvin*, or any Body else. Since therefore
 it is Christ's Authority alone upon which I assent, and
 he is the only Master I will follow in Religion; by
 consequence I am a *Christian*; and neither to be call'd a
Lutheran, nor a *Calvinist*, nor an *Arminian*, which
 soever of those great Men I may most agree with in
 my Sentiments.

Letters to the Author.

8

If the Name of *Protestant* did not include in it Christianity; or if it imply'd a servile Submission to the Opinions of any Man, or any Number of Men whatsoever; I should dislike it as much as any of the rest. But I learn from you, that it means no more than a *Primitive Christian*; with this explicit Addition to his Character, in Honour of Christ and His Revelation, (occasion'd by the Iniquity of later Times,) that it contains a Protest against all Impositions in Religion, either with reference to Faith or Practice, beyond the Discoveries made in the Scriptures. That the Name is large enough to comprehend all that embrace Christianity, and yet sufficiently limited to admit none besides.

But after all, Sir, have not you put an Arbitrary Sense upon the Word? May not others with equal Reason include under this Character All them that agree in an Opposition to *Rome*, tho' they deny the very *Canon of Scripture*? A Pamphlet publish'd Yesterday *tells us, that 'All Men are Protestants in the Notion of his Antagonist, (and that he is not singular in it,) who are agreed in their Opposition to the Tyranny, Idolatry, and Superstitions of the Church of *Rome*, and that this brings in all that deny the Mysteries of Christianity, the Canon of the Holy Scriptures, and the Immortality of the Soul.' And a Writer of a higher Size than that trifling Remarker, has labour'd to prove, that it must either be taken in such a Latitude, as to be like *Nebuchadnezzar's* great Tree, under which Birds of almost all Feathers may nestle; or else, that All beside the *Lutherans* themselves, the Original Protesters, can wear the Name but as a borrow'd Feather. I'll transcribe the Passage, because I suppose you had not seen it when you wrote your *Character*,

* *Remarks on the State-Anatomy of Great Britain*, p. 33.

tho'

tho' it had been publish'd many Months before.
 † 'You should be particularly careful (says the Doctor
 † to his Friend) of being impos'd upon by the Words
 † *Protestant Religion*: An Expression which has of
 † late been very frequent in the Mouths of a certain
 † Party. For if we confine that Name to any one
 † Sect, as the Word *Religion* in the singular Number
 † seems to do; then, in its proper genuine Sense, it
 † signifies the *Lutheran Religion*; because the *Luth-*
 † *erans* were the first who publicly, in a particular
 † solemn manner, entred their Protest against the
 † Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*, — by which
 † they obtain'd the Name of Protestants, being so
 † called from that particular solemn Protestation,
 † made before all the Estates of the Empire, in such
 † a Manner as was never done by any other Church or
 † Sect. But if we take the Word *Protestant* in another
 † Sense, and as it is commonly understood, to denote
 † any Church, Sect or Person, who openly protests
 † against the Corruptions of the Church of *Rome*,
 † then we cannot say the *Protestant Religion* in the sin-
 † gular Number, but must say *Protestant Religions* in
 † the plural Number. For in this Sense the Word
 † *Protestant* is only Negative, and does not denote of
 † what Religion the Church, Sect or Party so call'd
 † are, but only what they are not, viz. they are not
 † *Papists*. And in this Sense not only the *Lutherans*
 † and the *Calvinists*, but the *Anabaptists*, *Quakers*,
 † *Muggletonians*, *Socinians*, *Deists*, nay, and *Atheists*,
 † all may, and do come under the Denomination of
 † *Protestants*, as well as the Church of *England*. So
 † that to say the *Protestant Religion*, in this Sense, is
 † nothing but Cant and Jargon, without any distinct
 † and proper Meaning. And to say the *Protestant*
 † *Religion* in a restrain'd Sense, to denote any one

† Brett's Review of the Lutheran Principles, 2d Edit. p. 39.

‘Sect of Christians who may be call’d by that Name
‘in a supereminent Manner, as the first and most
‘solemn Protesters against Popery, to whom the
‘Name was given upon account of that particular
‘Protestation, signifies no other than the *Lutheran*
‘*Religion*.

Don’t you see, Sir, how the *Doctor* has wrested your beloved Name out of your Hands? Either excluding every Body but the *Lutherans* from a Right to it, even the Church of *England* it self, unless you will allow of *different Religions* under the common Appellation of *Protestant*; or else making it a Cant-Term, which does not necessarily suppose any thing of Religion. You may be a Deist, or an Atheist, *you are told*; be of the most different Religions, or indeed of none at all, and yet be a Protestant.

If this be so, thought I, what an Infatuation have the best Men of our Church been under for above 150 Years, to contend so earnestly for the *Protestant Religion*, when we have nothing to do with the Name, upon any other Terms, than either having a Religion peculiarly our own so call’d, or else excluding Religion out of the Notion of it? How unhappy were our *Chillingworths*, our *Stillingfleets*, and other zealous Advocates for the *Protestant Religion*, to write long and learned Treatises to prove the *Protestant Religion* a *safe Way to Salvation*, and to give *Rational Accounts of it*! Were they only doing an Act of Charity to defend the *Lutherans*? Or did they mean to set up the Church of *England* as a Church by it self? Or did they intend no Service to Religion all the while? Mistaken Men! They thought they were defending Reform’d Christianity, as profess’d by the Church of *England* in common with others, while they defended the *Protestant Religion*: But they wanted this new Light to set them right.

Our Legislature have run into the same Error: They have settled the Crown, in a regular Course,
upon

upon the present Illustrious House which wears it, being Protestants. They certainly thought This to be a Security to our Religion, as well as our Liberties; and yet never intended to oblige the Person who fills the Throne, to be a *Lutheran*; any more than to exclude him on that Account. I will not say, That this was the very Reason of the Doctor's Paragraph; to distinguish, if he could, the pleasing Name of *Protestant*, out of Reputation; that these Acts of Settlement might have the less Force on the Minds of our People: Or, that he would make the Protestant and the Church-man opposite Characters, lest King George should have an Advantage over the Pretender in the Affections of the Church of *England*, from his being known to be a zealous Protestant. But the Timing of his Remarks upon His Majesty's Accession, and the whole Air of the Book look that way.

The Truth is, Sir, the Doctor, with all his Critical Nicety, does the very Thing which he warns his Friend against; he plays upon the Word, without considering the Circumstances of the Story which gave Rise to it.

The Name, Indeed, had never been heard of, but for that Accident of Protesting against the Corruptions and Tyranny of *Rome*, at the Diet of *Spires*: But when once it was heard of, it was so well lik'd, that it became (as you tell us from *Thuanus*) the general Name of all Others, who professed a Desire of reforming the Corruptions brought into Religion, and on that Account separated from the Church of *Rome*. Whence was this general Concurrence in coming under that Denomination? 'Tis plain, it was upon a Religious Account, for reforming the Corruptions brought into Religion: Therefore 'tis a vile Slander to comprehend Atheists and Deists under the Character. Aye! but don't they shelter themselves under the Name? What then! do they do an-

der the Name of the Church of *England*; as most of those do also who make their *Exit* for their Crimes at *Tyburn*: But they are no more genuine Protestants in the one Case, than Sons of the Church in the other.

Nor do they all pretend to claim this Name as coming into the particular Sentiments of those who made the Protestation.

I thank you for helping me to a Way of Thinking so much better upon this Head. In your Character of a Protestant, I see a general Agreement among such, most happily accounted for, and yet Allowance made for very great Varieties: For you tell us, it consists in a *Belief of the Principles, upon which the several Reformed Churches reformed themselves*: What those were, you have taken the surest way to discover, from the Principles express'd in the Protest it self, the Practice of the Protesters, and the concurrent Declarations and Practice of the Body of Protestants. Here then we are upon firm Ground again, and must make your Chain of Principles the great Characteristics of a *Protestant*: The Sufficiency of Scripture, as the Rule of Religion, the Duty of examining all Doctrines and Practices in Religion by this Rule; the Right of every Man to judge for himself; an Obligation to profess and practise agreeably to his Judgment, and allowing others the same Liberty which we take our selves.

And now, Sir, upon a Review of your Essay, I am, as much as you, in Love with the old Name of *Protestant*, which our Fathers glory'd in, as signifying a Protestation for Christianity, *as it was in the Beginning*. This Christianity, tho' it should be recover'd but yesterday, has its own genuine Antiquity; in Comparison of which, Corruptions, how ancient soever, are but the old Shoes, and mouldy Bread of Deceivers and Impostors: As *Calvin* in his admirable Dedication of his *Institutions* to *Francis I.* of

*France, expresses himself : Quod diu incognita, sepul-
taque latuit, humana impietatis crimen est ; nunc cultus
Dei benignitate nobis redditur, saltem postliminii jure
suam Antiquitatem recipere debebat.*

And if you have drawn a Protestant right, I shall not fear but these Corollaries will hold from the Account you give of him.

That different Sentiments, about some Passages, in that only Rule which the Protestant owns, make not a Plurality of Religions, as the Doctor contends. The *Essence* of the Protestant Religion lies in receiving the Bible as the only Rule ; and it has its *Demonstration* from protesting against the Imposition of another Man's Sense of this Rule. All that agree in this, are truly of one and the same Religion.

That they who don't receive the Bible at all for their Rule, want the Fundamental of a Protestant, and can only wear the Name in a very abusive Sense of the Word. And yet,

That when any such join in protesting against the *Romish* Corruption and Tyranny, they are in Truth as good Protestants as those, who, while they say the Bible is the only Rule, yet impose other Standards and Rules, or their own Sense of that Bible ; and so in Fact destroy, or deny that which they assert in Words.

That for all People or Churches, who go under this general Name, they are, in truth, to be esteem'd more or less Protestant, according as the Principles or Practices they avow in Religion, are more or less strictly conform'd to the common Rule ; and as the Liberty and Charity they allow to others, are more or less extensive. And whatever any Church has peculiar to her self, or not common to all Christians, can by no means give it a greater Right than her Neighbours, to the Character of a Protestant.

I am, with all Respect, &c.

Feb. 6. 1714.



II. *To the Author of the OCCASIONAL PAPER.*

S I R,

Feb. 6. 1777.

I Congratulate you upon King *George's* happy Arrival, a *second Time*, in these his Dominions; and upon the joyful Reception he met with from all Sorts of People. This Salutation, I am perswaded, will be highly agreeable to you; since my Acquaintance with you enables me to say, That there is not a Man in *England* whose Pleasure could rise higher upon such an Occasion than yours must do. 'Tis only by such a Prince, that Sentiments large and generous as yours, can be supported: And, methinks, I see you in Transports gazing upon the Man who is form'd and rais'd by Heaven, to promote that *Civil and Christian Liberty*, for which you are so warm and continual an Advocate. Whilst the two other Parts of the Legislature (the Lords and Commons in Parliament) were waiting for His Majesty (their Head) to direct, animate and confirm their Proceedings; I cannot but fancy that I see your Heart beating for Joy, to look upon the King as he passes by, with the Thoughts of what may in a little Time be effected by his Wisdom and Conduct in the ensuing Parliament. Methinks I hear you tell those that stand by you (with Eyes fix'd upon the King's Coach) 'There goes the Man, who, after Envy's Snakes have hiss'd their loudest, must be acknowledged the greatest, and best crown'd Head in the World. There goes the Man, who, in our present Circumstances, is the only fit Person to make these Nations easie, united, and happy.

Thus far, I am perswaded, I have not varied from your own Way of thinking; but I know not what

you will say of my next Congratulation, and that is upon the *Procession in the Evening*. If you do not think it a Subject too low for your Paper, I should be glad to see your Thoughts on such Pieces of Pageantry : In the mean time I shall take the Liberty to communicate mine. Some Wise Men in the City have thought that the very Pageants of the Rebel-Generals might occasion a fresh Sedition. And, indeed, they are every whit as proper to be set up for the Head of a Party, as the Men they represent. But are the ill-affected Mob so mad as that comes to, that a piece of Past-board, or a Broom-stick would be sufficient to animate them against King George? Really, Sir, they are far from being beholden to the wise Speech-makers that have given such a Representation of them; or else, from their great Stiffness and Silence, 'tis plain, neither their Numbers, nor their Courage is so great as those Speech-makers would have us to think. We have now the Satisfaction to find, that a Body of the Loyal Mob could go from one End of the City to another, without any Opposition or Disturbance, when a little while ago they were forced to fight their Way, with King George's Name in their Mouths; and yet they never carried so many, and such great Provocations to the *Tories*, as in this Procession.

We have also the Pleasure of observing the Difference between a *Whig* and a *Tory-Mob* : The *Tories* are infamous for the vilest Abuses offer'd to Persons in the Streets, battering of Windows, plundering of Houses, and committing a thousand Outrages : The *Whig-Mob*, tho' much more numerous, and now flush'd with the Safety and Success of the King in all his Undertakings, yet were not chargeable with any thing mischievous, or injurious to any one Person; no, not even to those who had formerly most provok'd them.

By

By this Conduct their Numbers were continually increasing, and even those that did not joyn with them, yet went their way under strange Mechanical Impressions, that they could not help thinking and talking of what they had seen, till they show'd, that their Fancies and their Humours were plainly captivated.

After this I don't wonder to hear the *Jacobites*, and those that are *Popishly* affected, inveighing against such Processions; since by these they see themselves and their Attempts exposed to the greatest Scorn before the Mob: I say the Mob, whom they have made it their chief Attempt to gain over to their Party. But to find any that are hearty against Popery, or Friends to the present Government, uneasy at these *Shows*, is a little to be wonder'd at.

To treat the *Pope*, and the several Orders of *Popish Priests*, in such a manner, must be acknowledged highly proper, when we consider how much their Religion is made up of Pageantry and Show: And how meer a Banter upon Mankind, and upon all that is Sacred, the Fopperies of the Romanists really are. Had they not shown themselves too much in earnest by shedding Rivers of innocent Blood to support their Follies; and by these, their Grandeur; one would never have gone about to confute Popery any other Way than by exposing it to Jest and Scorn. But when one considers how many Massacrees, Burnings, Breakings upon the Wheel, &c. the Pope and his Priests are chargeable with, it is but a very just Representation of their Defects to cast their Effigies into the Flames.

Ay, but this may provoke them to attempt some further and greater Mischief. What then? Are we to show a Fear of them? No, let 'em do all the Mischief they can or dare, Thanks be to God, we see how little Success they are like to have in it. 'Tis certain, the Papists are now upon their last Legs in
England;

England; and therefore, no doubt, will do all the Mischief they can, whether there be Processions to expose them, or not: But for my own Part I am satisfied they lose much of their Spirit, and many of their Adherents, by such Proceedings.

Again 'tis objected, that whatever may be said for the Popish Figures, yet to carry the Figures of *Mar* and *Foster* in such a Manner, is to *insult* Men in *Misery*; which is neither suitable to the generous Temper of the *English*, nor the Spirit of Christianity. The main Force of this Plea lyes in the Word *insult*, which like many others lately perverted by the Tories, is used quite wrong. Here is nothing like adding of Affliction to Men that are suffering the just Punishment of their Crimes; but an exposing of Those who are fled from Justice; and that at a Time when their Crimes are still justify'd, or excus'd, by many that were to be Spectators of their Effigies. And never was a more just Triumph over the Enemies of Our King and Country, than at a Season when the King was receiv'd in Safety and Honour from Abroad, and the Nation settled in so much Peace and Tranquility at Home.

However, will some say, after all, these Mobs occasion a great deal of Disorder; and no Body can pretend to say what a Mob will come to. Why, really those that find any Disorder in themselves may keep away from them, and sit at Ease in their Houses. There is no Danger of their being stoned thro' their Windows, or having their Doors broke open by a Whig Mob, as by the Tory ones. And those that pretend to be concern'd for the Disorders among the Mob themselves, it may be proper to let them know, that there is a particular Regimen and Care to prevent it. Ay! but who can trust to that? who can tell where Mobs will stop? I can tell; The Fate of *Salisbury Court*, will at any Time stop them. And if ever the Whig Mob rise to the same enormous Wickedness

kedness that the Tories have done, I hope they will meet with the same Fate, and become as hated as the Jacobites now are. Till then I should be sorry to see any Steps taken for the Suppressing of those Houses, at which some Tory Scriblers are now enraged.

Upon this Subject Sir *H. M.* pretends to write to a *Parliament* as if he was writing to a Mob: All along his silly Pamphlet addressing to the Humours, and Prejudices and Passions of a Mob, rather than to Men of Sense and Judgment: And, to do him Justice, he maintains exactly the same Spirit in the whole, that appears in the Title, *Down with the Mug*. His foolish Address to the Clergy in general, without making any Distinction, at a Time when some have deserv'd so well, and others so ill at Our Hands; and the manner of his declaring, in the beginning of his Paper, that the *Motto of that Great Man who fix'd the Broad Seal on the late glorious Peace* [*Le bon Temps Viendra*] is still his Comfort; will, I am perswaded, render his Performance contemptible to all Men of Sense. And as to any Effects it may have upon the Jacobite Mob, I hope they will still find a Party too hard for 'em, even at their own Weapons, in all their future Attempts.

*Herbert
Mackintosh*

If you have not Leisure, or Inclination to oblige the World with any Thing of your own on this Subject, you will, by publishing this, oblige,

*S d R,
Your thoroughly engaged Friend
and Servant,*

* * * *

III. To the Author of the OCCASIONAL PAPER.

S I R,

THE Design upon which you are set out into the World is Generous and Noble ; every one that wishes well to his Country, or Mankind ; to Truth, or Religion, must, I think, heartily approve it.

But what can be hop'd in so corrupt a State of Things as ours? Would you inspire *Britons* with a Sense of Liberty, when they are sunk into so brutish a Stupidity, have lost all Taste of virtuous Freedom, and for a sumptuous Meal or delicious Draught, will part with all their envied Privileges, and sell their Country, nay, their Consciences and their Souls?

Is there any Thing in which the Freedom of a *Briton* is more Conspicuous, than in the Power we have to chuse those that are to make Laws for us, and bear Rule over us? But how wretchedly are we degenerated from our Ancestors in the Use of this Freedom? True Worth recommended Men to the Choice of their Fellow Citizens in Times past ; now Noise and Clamour, and Party-Fury run down Men of the most shining Character, and recommend Men of small Fortunes, and less Sense and Virtue, to the highest Offices. And where Reason and Perswasion can't procure a Vote, a Sum of Money, an unmanly Debauch, or an Act of Power shall secure one. And Men of Virtue and Sense must see their Country sink in this general Corruption, or give in to the common Practice, and go through the Drudgery of recommending themselves to an Office, by courting the vilest of the People, with shameful Compliances, into their Interest : Which, in effect, is giving up our Liberties

erties to secure them: At least 'tis humouring Slaves, (for they are Slaves in the strictest Sense, who are of a servile Temper) to prevent our being made such. These are Practices so mean, and indeed flagitious, and argue such an abandon'd Temper of Mind, as deserves the Correction of the sharpest Satyr. Launch out a little, Sir, into this Field; try to awaken a Sense of Shame in your Country-men, who are almost past Sense and Shame too; grown too Stupid to be instructed, and too Impudent to blush for the most sottish Ignorance, and most sordid Vices. Or if the Age be too far gone in this Distemper for Reason or Railery to work a Cure, recommend it to those in Power to take the Matter into serious Consideration, and see whether the Wisdom of the Nation can't find out some effectual Method to prevent the Growth of this detestable Humour, which is preparing us apace for Slavery, even in spite of Providence, that has hitherto preserv'd our valuable Liberties to us, when we were ready to exchange them for a Dungeon and Shackles.

But indeed the Corruption of this Kind hath not confin'd it self to our Civil Concerns, it hath made an Inroad upon Things Sacred. And the base Methods us'd to procure Posts of Profit and Honour in the State, have been copy'd after for gaining Preferment in the Church. The Men who pretend to be sanctified by Office, and separated from the World, shall cringe to Men in Power, and fawn upon Patrons, and in nauseous Panegyric, and servile Flattery, endeavour to insinuate themselves into their good Graces; or by a good Bribe buy the Consent of a greedy Steward, or a covetous Guardian, where rich Benefices are in the disposal of single Persons. If they are to be obtain'd by popular Election, they can set all the common Engines on work, Court and Treat, Bribe and Threaten; using all possible Arts to carry their End, and prostituting the Honour of their Office

to procure a fat Benefice, or it may be to make an inconsiderable Addition to an overgrown Plurality. In the mean while the Man of Worth, the Scholar, the Gentleman, the Christian, must resolve to sit Idle, or do Violence to himself by stooping to those Practices which a great Mind would scorn, and which rigid Virtue, or strict Religion, will scarce allow; or else he must leave the Fat of the Land to be consumed by unprofitable Drones: While the Drudgery of Devotion, and of Public Offices, is deputed to a raw Curate, who must be enslav'd to the Will of his Principals, and Starve upon little better than a Footman's Allowance.

*There should
be more*

This, Sir, is a flagrant Abuse, which I wish I could persuade you to set in a due Light, and endeavour to render odious to the World. 'Tis a vile trucking for Cure of Souls; and yet commonly practis'd; and that in spite of the Renunciation of all Simoniacal Traffick, so justly demanded by our Church of all Clerks presented to Benefices, before they are allow'd Induction. But the Veneration for an Oath is so much lost among us, even with Men of the most sacred Character, that I do not wonder this Bar to Wealth and Preferment is so easily broken down or leapt over. And the Men, who are so open in these Methods of advancing themselves, are not to be sham'd, I doubt, by any Thing you can do to expose them. Nor do I know how the Mischief which grows upon us every Day is ever likely to be prevented, till those who have the Disposal of Benefices, whether single Persons or Communities, take up a Resolution never to prefer that Man that in his own Person, or by any other certainly known to have a Commission from him, makes Application for Preferment. Commonly speaking, I think, 'tis a sure Rule in these Cases, that he is most deserving who is least importunate. And the Man who looks upon his Office as Sacred and Divine, and is indeed mov'd

by

by the Holy Ghost to take it upon him, will wait the Direction of Providence for a Station wherein to exercise it, and not thus criminally chuse out such a Station for himself. It disparages a Minister of Christ to do any Thing that looks mean and selfish, or proud and vaunting. But what can Application for a Benefice imply, but either that a Man is pursuing his Gain, or proclaiming his Worth, or both together; by letting the Patron know he is very well assur'd of his own sufficiency for the Post, and reckons his Gain a sufficient Motive to solicit for the Benefice? For I don't think that any who make these Applications, would have their Patrons or the World believe, they are so diligent merely out of an Intention to do public Service.

And these Applications for this Reason should be utterly forbidden: I mean as to Posts in the Church; because it has been observ'd, that when once Men have broken through the Restraints of Modesty and Decency, and grown bold to sollicite in their own Cause, they quickly throw off all Regards of this kind, and without shame or secrecy proclaim their Thirst insatiable, and grasp at all the Wealth they can, without any purpose to do the Work of their Station, or any fair Prospect or Hope of it, without being Ubiquitaries. How much Mischief this hath done the Church in all Ages, since the Venom of temporal Wealth and State was pour'd into it, and how much it hath been to the Prejudice of our own Church, can't be unknown to any that have made Observations upon either.

Among those that Dissent from our Church, I think there is not the same Room for Complaint. Their Way of being call'd out to public Work in any Congregation, is that of Election by the Body. They have no such Advantage among them, as should tempt Men of very great Ambition or Covetousness to chuse their Party, or scuffle for their Preferments. And however we may despise their Ministers for

it will be
very long
of the
England
to not have
a high
state of
Church
of the

their vulgar Education and Endowments, they seem in some Respects train'd up with a greater regard to the Decencies of the Function, than those educated amongst us; and are seldom so officious, as far as I can understand, as to tender their Service; much less make solicitous Application, directly, or by their Friends, to be elected into any Post of Service amongst them. And I could almost wish, it were the Practice among our selves, in this manner to bring Ministers into Places; were it not for that of which I have been complaining, the general Corruption of Electors. I have heard some sober Dissenters lament one Instance as too often appearing among them: When a wealthy, or proud, or powerful, or humourful Man, will have his own Way in an Election; or else will tear all the Congregation in pieces; and to carry his Point, will Court and Caress, and Threaten the meaner part of the Audience, and thus take away from others, what he makes the Reason, in a great Measure, of his own Dissent, a Liberty of judging for themselves.

I know not, Sir, whether you will think it within your Province to attempt the Redress of these Evils. I think every Man must acknowledge that the Practices here condemn'd are scandalous to a Virtuous and Free-born People, and much more to that Christian Liberty you are pleading for. But possibly you may judge the Temper incurable, and from despair of Success forbear to say any Thing your self. You are welcome, if you think it may do any Service, or is fit to have any Room in your Paper, to publish this Letter from

S I R,

Your Admirer, and humble Servant,

Jan. 29, 1716.

Eleutherus.

IV. Ta



IV. To the Author of the OCCASIONAL PAPER.

Jan. 25. 1716.

S I R,

I Return you my Thanks for the Pleasure I have receiv'd my Self in reading some of your late Papers; and for the good Service I hope they may have done the Public, by setting Right the meaning of some Words of general and important Use, and preventing the ill Consequences a perverted Notion of Church, Constitution, Orthodoxy, &c. might occasion.

Give me leave to hint to You another Subject; I conceive of great Importance to the same Design. 'Tis an Observation of Mr. Lock, in his Chapter of the Association of Ideas. He takes Notice, 'Tis the Office and Excellency of our Reason, to have, and hold together such of our Ideas as have a natural Correspondence and Connection one with another. But besides this, there is another Connection of Ideas, wholly owing to Chance or Custom. Ideas that in Themselves are not at all of Kin, come to be so united in some Men's Minds, that 'tis very hard to separate them. They always keep in Company, and the One no sooner at any Time comes into the Understanding, but its Associate appears with it; and if they are more than Two, the whole Gang always inseparably shew themselves together. He adds some Instances to explain his Observation. The Ideas of Goblins and Sprights have really no more to do with Darkness than Light. Yet let but a foolish Maid inculcate these often on the Mind of a Child, and raise them there together; possibly he shall never be able to separate them again as long as he lives; but Darkness shall ever

‘ afterwards bring with it those frightful Ideas. Let
 ‘ the Idea of Infallibility be inseparably joyn’d to
 ‘ any Person, and these Two constantly possess the
 ‘ Mind; and then one Body in two Places at once,
 ‘ shall unexamined be swallowed for a certain Truth
 ‘ by an implicit Faith, whenever that imagin’d in-
 ‘ fallible Person dictates, and demands Assent with-
 ‘ out Enquiry.

‘ Now some such wrong and unnatural Combina-
 ‘ tions of Ideas (says this great Observer of Human
 ‘ Nature) will be found to establish the irreconci-
 ‘ lable Opposition between different Sects of Philoso-
 ‘ phy and Religion. This often leads Men of Sin-
 ‘ cerity blindfold from common Sense, gives Sense
 ‘ to Jargon, Demonstration to Absurdity, and Con-
 ‘ sistency to Nonsense; and is the Foundation of the
 ‘ greatest, I had almost said, of all the Errors of the
 ‘ World.

This Observation, Sir, I take it, is not a dry Speculation in Philosophy, nor useless to any Man of Sincerity, who is desirous to be preserved from the Infection of an Epidemick Madness, for such in Truth it really is. We have too many Examples of it among our selves, both to explain the Notion it self, to shew the many bad Consequences that attend it, and of how much Service it would be to the World, if any Method could be found out to correct and amend it.

For Instance, what a wrong, unnatural Combination of Ideas make up the Notion of Kingly Government and Hereditary Succession, as it lies in some Men’s Heads. Either Education, or the din of Party Pamphlets and Conversation, have ever joined together Kingly Government, Absolute Monarchy; Superiority to all Laws, Arbitrary Power; and from thence inferred, Unlimited Obedience, and an Absolute Non-Resistance in all Cases: And when the Mind has been habituated to join all these together,
 Kingly

Kingly Government never comes into the Understanding alone, but this whole gang of Notions associated to it, inseparably threw themselves together with it. In like manner, Hereditary Succession has been by the same sort of Means associated with the Ideas of Unalienable, Indefeasible Right ; and they all appear ever joined together in such an Understanding ; from whence, I think, may be deriv'd the extreme Obstinacy of some Persons to all Methods of Conviction where there is the plainest Evidence , that these Notions are entirely separable from each other in Fact and Reason, and that they do by no means agree in our Government with Hereditary Kings.

We have another Instance of the same Kind, as to the Notion of the Church. Every Thing that is found in the Possession of common Usage and Practice is joined inseparably to it. Every Provision of Human Prudence, although for its Ornament only ; every Garment, Gesture, and Ceremony, are so closely joined in some Mens Heads to the Notion of the *Church*, that they can never think of the one without the other. On the same Grounds, every, the least, Difference in Opinion or Practice from the common Opinions and Usage, are associated to the Ideas of Heresy, Schism, and Damnation, and ever appear in a Gang together ; though in spite of the plainest Rules of Christian Charity, and Protestant Liberty.

There is such another wrong Combination of *I-
deas*, with respect to the Whigs. Men have been
taught to join together Republican, Anarchy, Con-
fusion, Rebellion, Murther, Forty-one, and I know
not how many frightful Notions more, to the Name
of *Whig*. These have been so riveted together in
their Minds, on solemn Occasions, from the Reve-
rence of the Place, the Authority of the Speaker,
and the Force of publick Oratory, that they can no
more separate them afterwards, than a Man who
has

has been frightened by his Nurse in his Infancy, can separate the *Ideas* of Darkneſs and Hobgoblins.

I might obſerve many other Inſtances of the ſame Nature, but ſhall only mention to you, Sir, one more, which is the unnatural Combination of *Ideas* with the Word *Presbyterian* and *Proteſtant Diſſenter*. Men have been habituated, whenever they think of a Diſſenter, to think at the ſame Time, of all manner of Confuſion and Irregularity, irreconcilable Enmity to all Civil Government, and Eccleſiaſtical Order, implacable Hatred to the Eſtabliſh'd Church and Government of theſe Kingdoms; Notwithſtanding, they have ſeen the Diſſenters Friends to the Church in its greateſt Danger, and as faithful Subjects to Princes, as any in their Dominions: Tho' they have ſeen, at the ſame time, Principles of Paſſive Obedience produce a barbarous Deſign of Aſſaſſination; and of Non-reſiſtance, make way for more than one Rebellion: If you will bear with a ſhort Story, I will give you, Sir, one Inſtance of this ſort of Madneſs, by which you may ſee in what manner it poſſeſſes the Common People. A Country-man driving a loaded Cart thro' a dirty Lane, the Cart was ſet faſt; after the Horſe had attempted briskly ſeveral Times to draw it out, he was jaded, and would draw no more; and neither answer my Country-man's Voice, nor Whip. This ſo enraged him, that at laſt he expreſs'd his Reſentment, and way of thinking, in the following Words—*Pox on you for a confounded Whiggish, Presbyterian Dog, you will not ſo much as try to draw, and be damn'd to you.*

You ſee, Sir, how Confuſion, Whig, Presbyterian, and Damnation lay together in this Fellow's Head, that they follow one another in a Train, tho' it be only to cuſe a poor Horſe. I wiſh there were no other Country-men, of a more diſtinguiſhed Character, whoſe Brains, nevertheleſs, are in the ſame Condition with his.

As you do not put your Name to your Paper, I hope, Sir, you will excuse me for not subscribing mine to my Letter: But if ever we should chance to know each other, you may depend upon it, you will find me with great Sincerity,

S I R,

Your very humble Servant,

XX

V. To the Author of the OCCASIONAL PAPER.

S I R,

Once did my self the Honour to write to you before, and had the Favour of a publick Notice; Your Impartiality and Candour in the glorious Cause of Liberty and Truth; or as you express it in the first Advertisement; in *taking off false Colours, stating Matters of Fact as they are, and Matters of Right as they ought to be*; has encouraged me to represent to you a Case which has been often mistaken, and is newly taken notice of by a Pamphleteer, pronounc'd in an Advertisement, from himself or his Book-seller, to be an eminent Hand, to the Prejudice of a sort of People who have as just a Sense of Liberty, and Aversion to Popery, as any of their Neighbours. The Case, in short is, The Dissenters *not writing against Popery in the Reign of King James II.* and *Addressing him upon the Liberty granted them*. Now, Sir, being well acquainted with those People, and the Circumstances of that Case, I thought it became the Regard which every Man owes to Truth and injured Innocence, to set before you, in a few Words, the true State of that Case; not with any Design, I assure you, to disparage the Church, or lessen the Glory of the immortal Writings of her

† Remarks on the State Anatomy, p. 61, 62.

Learned Men in its Defence. For certainly never any Cause was better defended with greater Bravery of Spirit, or Dexterity of Management, or with better Success. But can't Men do Right to themselves without injuring other People, and blow their own Praises without blasting the Credit of all about them? Must they needs raise their Triumphs and Trophies upon the Ruins of other Mens Reputation?

The Dissenters are known by their common Principles to be at as great a Distance from Popery, as any Protestants whatsoever; and cannot reasonably be suspected of favourable Inclinations to it, by those who have often charged them with too great Stiffness in their Opposition, and standing at too great a Distance from it. Their fundamental Principle of the Sufficiency and Perfection of the Scripture-Rule in all Matters of Faith and Worship, as well as Life and Manners, is directly opposite to the whole Frame of Popery, and strikes at the very Root of it.

Besides, they saw the Danger of Popery, and gave the first Alarm to the Nation in the Reign of King Charles II. when the High Church Men thought it a vain Fright or Melancholy Discontent, and charged it with Faction and Sedition. Many of their greatest Men at that Time wrote several Things of great Consideration in their different Kinds: Mr. Baxter, Dr. Owen, Mr. Pool, Mr. Clarkson, Men of Learning and Capacity, equal to the best Writers of the Church. In the Year 1675. they joined together in a Volume of *Morning Lectures*, against the principal Points of the Popish Doctrine; in which most of their considerable Ministers in and about the City of London, bore their Part; and several of them no way inferior to any other Performances on those Subjects.

Nor could they be charged with *Pusillanimity* or Cowardice in a Time of Danger, any more than Affection to Popery: For they had suffered severe Things for many Years together from the Hands of their angry Brethren, and were more inured to suffer by long Prosecutions, when the Church-men sat at ease, and shone in worldly Glory; though none made louder Complaints upon the first Violence and Invasion of their Rights.

But the Grand Pretence is, That at *that Time*, when Popery appeared bare-faced, and threatened a sudden *Ruin*, so few of the Dissenters wrote against it; but *Three* mentioned in the printed Catalogues. Now, Sir, it falls out very unluckily here, that the *first* Book against Popery in that Reign was writ by a Dissenting Minister, (Mr. *Samuel Chandler's* brisk and polite Discourse concerning them *who turn the World up-side down*) though no Notice was ever taken of it in the published Catalogues. The several Tracts which are mentioned in them, under the Name *Ignotus*, which are some of them very considerable, were writ by an unknown Dissenter. And 'tis a Baseness below Mention, if the Necessity of the Case did not justify it, That nothing which was known to come from a Dissenter could obtain a License for the Press; no, though powerfully recommended by such Great Men as Dr. *Tillotson* and Dr. *Claggett*, the two best Reasoners in that Controversie; as in the Case of Mr. *Pendlebury's* Discourse against *Transubstantiation*, which being small, was published without a License; and Mr. *Hanmer's* larger Book against the *Principal Popish Doctrines*, which was upon this only Account, wholly suppress'd. Is it fair and equal Treatment to bind Men Hand and Foot, and upbraid them with Cowardice? To stop their Mouths, and then reproach them for Silence? Is this Honour, or Conscience, or fit to be mentioned over again at this time of Day? But some Men know no more the

true State of the Protestant Dissenters, though they live among them, than they do of the Country of the Great *Mogul*, or Cham of *Tartary*.

Besides, the greater Part of the Church-Writings began upon personal Challenges and Provocations, from Conferences and Disputes, in which it would not have been proper for Others to interpose. This sometimes drew them out to a considerable Length, as the *Misrepresentations* and *Representations of Popery*; the *Conferences* at the *Savoy*; and the *Dean of St. Paul's*, &c. And whereas several of the Great Church-men of those Times, in the Heat of their Opposition to the Protestant Dissenters, seemed to verge towards Popery, in some Points of Importance; as the *Authority of the Church*, the *Perfection of the Scripture*, Christianity's being *Mystical Judaism*, &c. Nothing could be more agreeable than to see High Church-men obliged to quit some favourite Opinions, and arguing against the Papists upon the Principles of common Protestantism; and by which the Dissenters supported themselves against the Claims of the Church. And there is reason to believe, that Contröversie help'd to set some of them Right in several Points, and made them more cautious and moderate all their Days.

After all, the Dissenting Ministers *preached* against Popery upon all proper Occasions; though, as their Congregations were sufficiently instructed against, and averse to Popery, and scarce any were ever proselyted from among them; so they were more imployed about their proper Province, to promote Christian Knowledge, and practical Religion. After long Restraints from Preaching, Imprisonments, and Confiscations, they were glad of an Opportunity of Returning to their Work, and bent their Strength to the great Purposes of their Ministry.

'Tis true, they *Addressed* the King upon the Liberty of Conscience; and might they not own the Favour of the Prince in restoring their just Rights, tho' not in the Way they could have desired? and suspending Laws they always thought both unrighteous, and ill-designed? I ask, by whose Influence, and for whose Gratification were they made? and when might they expect a *Temper*, or *Legal Relief*? If a Highway-man rescue me from a Foot-pad, I should not scruple to give him my Thanks: And Popery would have been nevertheless dangerous, tho' the Dissenters had refused the Liberty, and continued under former Restraints. The Papists would have had their Liberty, whether the Dissenters had or no: And was there not need of all Hands at work to preserve the People, and oppose the common Enemy? Tho', for my part, I confess I should have taken the Liberty granted, without thinking any Address of Thanks was due for it, on those Terms upon which it was granted.

Note

good

However, if they * were extravagant in any Expressions, 'tis plain, the Church Addressees far exceeded them; and they are upbraid with a very ill Grace. Something might reasonably be allowed to Men under long Oppression, especially if the Person † who drew up the Address, which gave the greatest Occasion of this Reproach, was known to be a Person remarkable for Wit and Fancy, and had then received personal Obligations from that Prince in a very tender Point, the Pardon of his Son.

'Tis pretty singular, the *Schism-Act* † should be thought a great Security of the Protestant Succession, and Peace of the Church, and an Excellent Act. What Church this Gentleman may mean, I am not so certain; but I am sure 'tis very strange an Act should

* See the *Vindication of the Learning, Loyalty, &c. of the Protestant Dissenters*. † Mr. Allop. ‡ Remarks, p. 59, 60.

Wade
 be a great Security of the Protestant Succession, which was brought into each House, and earnestly pushed by two Gentlemen since attainted of High Treason, and concerned in a Rebellion in Favour of the Pretender. Besides that, 'tis contrary to the most ancient and fundamental Rights of Nature, the patriarchal or Family Power; and is, I think, without a Precedent, not only in any Protestant or Christian-Country, but among *Turks* and *Pagans*; any farther than the Tyranny of *Julian*, or *Lewis XVI.* may be pleaded in this Matter. Would this High-Church-man think any Church or Power had a Right to deprive him of the Education of his *own* Children, or bringing them up as he thought best?

Wade
 I'll venture to tell this Gentleman, upon this Occasion, if there were but two Books writ against Popery in the Reign of King *James II.* That there were twenty Church-men, of considerable Note, among the Clergy, as well as Laity, who turned Papists in that Reign, and some of them followed the abdicated Prince; and that the late Rebels against King *George*, were *Papists* and *High-Church-men*, without two Dissenters among them all.

Sir, your impartial Regard to Truth, will allow a fair Hearing where that is pretended to be injured, and will for ever oblige

Feb. 7. 1716.

Your Admirer and humble Servant.



F I N I S.



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THE OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. III.

O F P L O T S.

----- *What tho' the Field be lost ?*
All is not lost ; th' unconquerable Will,
And study of Revenge, immortal Hate
And Courage never to submit or yield :
(And what is else not to be overcome ?)
That Glory nevet shall his Wrath or Might
Extort from me. -----

Consult how we may henceforth most offend
Our Enemy, our own Loss how repair,
How overcome this dire Calamity,
What Reinforcement we may gain from Hope,
If not, what Resolution from Despair.

Satan's Speech to Beelzebub.
Milt. Parad. lost. B.I.

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O F
P L O T S



THE restless Enemies of our Peace and Religion, leave no Methods unattempted to effect their villanous Designs for the Subversion of Both. It is the profess'd Intention of this Paper, to serve (as far as it can) the Liberties of Mankind, and in particular of our dear Country; and therefore I think it seasonable to offer some Things concerning the present Methods in which our Enemies attack them; I mean those *Plots* and *Conspiracies*, by which they are contriving to deprive us of them.

Where open Force fails of Success, Men of wicked and pernicious Purposes betake themselves to the Shelter of Clouds and Darknes; to all the studied Arts of Treachery and Deceit: True to nothing but their Ambition and Lust of Power, their implacable Revenge, or their furious Superstition. But by these they are carried on to any Methods that may serve to gratify their Passion; tho' with the Ruin of whole Nations, and the unspeakable Miseries of their own Country.

A 2

Men

Men of boundless Ambition cannot rest, till they have form'd a Scheme that promises them Success; and are continually working to bring others into their Measures; Some as united to them by the same ambitious Prospects; Others as Dependants upon them, or brib'd over to their Party.

Implacable Hatred and Ill-will to Persons in Power, often puts Men upon all Methods to ruin and destroy them, tho' with the manifest Mischief of the Community; nay, and sometimes when they involve themselves in the Common Ruin: As a great Enemy of King *William* was reported to have said, *He would ruin him if he could, tho' he was sure to be damn'd for it the next Moment;*

But besides these wicked Passions which have occasioned *Plots* in all Ages, there is another Cause that has been at the Bottom of the most, and most mischievous *Plots* in our own Country, and Neighbour Nations, for a long Time; that is, a false and superstitious Zeal. On this the Antichristian Polity of *Rome* is founded. A Means has been found out to form a worldly Polity out of a Religion intended to wean Men from the World. The Pope, by enslaving the Consciences of all that own him for the Head of their Religion, has list'd to himself a spiritual *Militia*; and hereby has Numbers ready at Hand to undertake any Mischief he shall put them upon: Since they are taught to believe all Things conduce to the Salvation of their Souls, that are done in Obedience to his Commands. This Principle can procure a *Cle-*
France *ment*, or *Ravillac*, to take off *Princes*, when they are suspected to stand in their Way. This can engage

Of P L O T S.

engage Men to form unnatural Designs of destroying the best Part of a whole Nation at once by *Gun-powder*, and a great Part of another by an inhumane *Massacre*. In fine, it can command and direct all manner of Wickedness, for the Destruction of any Persons who shall be so hardy as to imagine, the *Servant of God's Servants* is not *Emperor of the World*: So that however Ambition and Covetousness may be the Springs of Action, in the principal Promoters of such Conspiracies, 'tis yet a fierce and false Zeal for Religion, by which they are conducted to their Execution. One would have hoped these Mischiefs of Popery had been rectified at our Reformation; but yet our History affords too many Instances, that the *Papish Emissaries* have still the Skill and good Luck to dupe those that have even protested against their Errors and Conduct; to engage them in *Plots* for their own Destruction; and make them give the most unaccountable Instances of a real Fanaticism, when they are halloo'd by an *Italian Policy* to worry their Brethren under the Name of *Fanaticks*.

That this is the main Principle of our *Plots*, in *England* at least, for above this Hundred Years last past, may appear from the Persons engaged in them, and the Methods they have used to promote them. These have been so much one and the same, and the Steps taken against our Government, as *Protestant*, so *Uniform*, that 'tis a Wonder even the Common People do not fully see through them, and perceive whence they come, what they aim at, and by what means such Projects are to be executed.

The

*England
Ireland*

The Persons concern'd in these *Plots* have ever been the *Papists* out of the Church, and the *High-Flyers*, or Popishly-affected within the Church. They have indeed, as under *Plots* of their own, made a Few for the Whigs and Protestants. Mrs. *Celier* midwiv'd one into the World out of a *Meal-Tub*; and by another, they got such brave Men as Lord *Russel*, *Algernoon Sidney*, &c. out of the *Way*: for these, and such like pretended Protestant *Plots*, have plainly appeared upon Examination, and in their Consequences, the Effects of Popish Councils and Tory Designs. I joyn the *Papists* and *High-Flyers* together, because they have ever been united in the same Measures; have gone Hand in Hand with each other at every Turn, and have fallen into all the same common Methods of destroying our Religion and Liberties.

Thus when they found a *Prince*, for Instance, inclinable to favour Popery, or any Advances towards it, these were the Men who joyntly made court to him; complimented him with unlimited *Passive Obedience* and *Non-Resistance*; made the *Titles* of such as they had Hopes from, *Unalienable* and *Indefeasable*; and their Power superiour to all Law; and every Provision to the contrary, tho' it had a *Parliamentary Sanction*, void and insignificant. The same Persons mutually concurr'd to engage a Party among the *Clergy*, to support these Tenets by a *Divine Sanction*, and more effectually spread them among the Common People; and the more heartily to engage Them, and at the same Time to promote their own Designs in view, they concurred to advance Their Power and Authority to equal Extravagancy with that of the Crown;

Crown ; that so the *Church* and the *King*, or in more modern Phrase, the Cry of *Church* and *Queen* might on every Occasion, carry all before them.

But when this Scheme became impracticable, and a Prince was on the Throne that they could not engage in their Designs, then they as heartily joyn'd together against him : Favour'd as much as they could, the Title of Another : Harangued against the Lawfulness of taking the Oaths to any but the right Heir ; meaning, him whom they should be pleas'd to call so. Tho' at the same Time, the leading Men are to take the Oaths themselves, with a double Intention ; to serve their own Interest by the Profit of their Places, and by their Power within Doors to hearten and keep alive the Projects of their Associates without.

The same Men concurr'd likewise to undermine such a *Government*, by artfully applying to it the Distinction between a *King de Facto* and *de Jure*. By which means they continued a Declaration against the lawful Right of the Prince in Possession ; and did the Government as much Mischief, and in some Respects more, than if they had absolutely refused to submit, or take the Oaths to it at all.

There is one thing more, and that one of their most darling Methods, in which they were heartily united ; to raise as far as possible the Enmity and Hatred of the Church and Nation against those, who of Old were called *Puritans*, of late more commonly *Presbyterians*. They have ever been industrious to fix all manner of Calumny and Reproach upon them, to render them incapable of serving their Country, or having any Power to act against

gainst Them: Well knowing, and upon some Occasions owning, they could not effectually compass their Designs till these Men were removed out of their Way. It was observ'd long since by the renown'd Sir Robert Cotton, until the Eleventh Year of Queen Elizabeth's Reign, "a *Recusant's* Name was scarcely known. "The Reason was, because that the Zeal begotten in the Time of the *Marian Persecution* "was yet fresh in Memory. — In those Days "there was an Emulation between the Clergy "and the Laity, and a Strife arose whether of "them should shew themselves most affectionate to the Gospel — But when they saw "their great *Coryphaeus Sanders* had slyly pinn'd "the Names of *Puritans* on the Sleeves of the "Protestants that encountred them with most "Courage, and perceiv'd that the Word was "pleasing to some of our own side, they "took Heart at Grass, to set little by the Service of God and Duty to their Sovereign."

'Tis however observable, that many of these *Plots* have met with that Fate that is common: For few *Plots* have been wholly successful without Discovery and Disappointment in some Part or other, the Methods of Discovery and Prevention are so various and remarkable.

They are often discovered by the ordinary Methods of *good Policy*, a skillful Management and Dexterity in Affairs. Wise and watchful Governours have quick Eyes as well as long Arms. They can have Intelligence from private Corners, as well as publick Courts: find ways to mingle with all Cabals, and dive in-

* Cotton's *Posthuma*, p. 148.

to the deepest Secrets: Thus *Queen Elizabeth's* wise Minister, *Sir Francis Walsingham*, got into the grand Secret of the *Spanish Invasion*, and procured his Information by an original Letter out of the *Pope's* own Pocket: It seems the King of *Spain*, from an officious Zeal for the *Pope's* Blessing on his Undertaking, had, by a Letter writ with his own Hand, acquainted him, with the true Intention of his great Preparations: But the industrious *English Minister* so far turn'd it into a Curse, as to blast the whole Contrivance to enslave us, and reduce the exorbitant Power of that Family, so dangerous to the whole Protestant Cause, and the Liberty of their Neighbours: By the Vigilance of the same wise Minister, in the Reign of *James I.* he procured a Box out of the *Spanish Ambassador's* Closet, which contain'd all his secret Instructions: The many good Effects of such private Intelligence in the late War, are reserv'd for a fuller History of those Times.

Nor are *Courage* and *Bravery* in a Government less considerable to prevent the Effects of *Plots*, than a skilful and vigilant Policy is to detect them. When a Sense of Liberty and Zeal for True Religion, inspires a brave People with Spirit and Courage, all the Force of a blind Zeal and slavish Spirit, has never been able to stand against it. To omit all remoter Examples, we have a sufficient Evidence of this, in the successful Defence of our Liberties under the glorious King *William*, and the many victorious Years of the late *Queen*.

Sometimes the Conspirators themselves are Instruments in the Discovery of their own *Plots*. The Horror of an inhuman Fact has

to Of PLOTS.

terrify'd a *guilty* Mind. The Tenderness of human Nature, some Leavings of Conscience and Gratitude, the frightful Sense of involving innocent Persons in Ruin, and one's native Country in Blood and Desolation, have sometimes given a shock to Mens Minds, and rais'd an inward Remorse. The *Assassination Plot* in King *William's* Reign, was discover'd by Mr. *Pendergrass*, who was struck with Horror at the first Proposal of it, and from that Moment, resolv'd to make the Discovery. And a Soldier list'd in the *Prætender's* Service, was among the first Discoverers of the late Rebellion.

A Discovery and Prevention of *Plots* are often owing to the weak Conduct of the *Plotters*, and the wrong Measures they enter into. *Caroline's* Conspiracy was one of the most desperate ever known in the *Roman State*. A disgusted Part of the Nobility, many broken Officers, joyned to others of profligate Lives and ruin'd Fortunes, united under a crafty and daring Head, to overturn the Government: But this formidable Conspiracy came to the Knowledge of the *Consul Cicero*, by the childish Imprudence of *Q. Curius*, one of the *Plotters*, who trusted the Secret to his Mistress *Pulvia*. Envy, Jealousy, or Treachery, sometimes make the Conspirators false to the Design, or to each other. Men who are wicked enough (from Pique, Ambition, or Hope of Advantage from publick Troubles) to conspire against their native Country and lawful Governors, may well be supposed false enough to their Companions, to betray them for the same Reasons.

And very often these secret Works of Darkness

ness have been brought to light by some Act of a kind Providence. A small Incident, an undesign'd Step, a little Weakness or Oversight have been over-ruled to break a well-concerted Scheme of Mischief. The Miscarriage of a Letter and the Mistake of a Name, are considerable Circumstances in the History of the *Powder-Plot*. The open Plots against the Religion and Liberties of *England* in the Reign of *James II.* was ruin'd by an indiscreet Haste, and over-forward Zeal to make it sure. As a great Man * observ'd on this Occasion, " The very
 " Counsels and Methods of our Enemies did
 " propose the way for our Deliverance, and per-
 " haps more effectually than any Counsel or
 " Contrivance of our own could have done.

In fine, such Designs are often confounded, when they have the greatest likelihood of Success, and are just on the Point of execution, by taking off some of the *principal Actors*, or most powerful Supports. The manner of the *King's Accession* to the Throne, and the subsequent Death of the late *French King*, were fatal Blows to the desperate Design of bringing in the *Pre-tender*, and the Rebellion which was rais'd to promote it.

One would wonder so many Methods of Disappointment and Discovery, should not cure Men of their Inclination and Fondness for *Plotting*. One would think, the *Plotters* among our selves in particular, should set themselves about concerting new Measures with a very dead Heart, when they consider how often, and in what variety of Ways, their former Schemes have been discover'd and render'd Abortive :

* *Archbishop Tillotson.*

When so frequently either the Carelessness and Treachery of Friends, or the Vigilance and Penetration of Enemies have spoil'd the whole Project. How can they persuade themselves they shall succeed better with the next, than they did with their last Contrivance? Why, we see our former Error, how we mistook the last Time; such an Oversight was the Occasion of our Miscarriage; but we will take care to avoid every thing of a like kind for the future, and then we may promise our selves Success.

But sure they consider not at the same time, that every new Attempt, and the Discovery of it, must make them against whom they Plot, more upon their Guard; more thoroughly apprise them whence their Danger comes, and how it may be most effectually prevented: That every Disappointment will take away some Friends; make others less able or less ready to assist them; more backward and cool in their Interests, at least in hazarding themselves and their Fortunes together with them. 'Tis, besides, great odds, but when they employ a double Care to secure one Point, they leave some other Parts of their Project more unguarded than they were before.

Indeed there is something in the very Designs these Men aim at, that should forebode a Disappointment. To reduce these Nations to Popery and Slavery is, after all, a bold Undertaking: Men may flatter themselves with the Madness of the common People, and the Pains which have been taken to reconcile them gradually, to both those Evils, which it must be allow'd have been very great; yet whenever the mischievous and fatal Consequences of such Designs

Designs shall come to be seen and felt, They who now reckon themselves sure of their present deluded Followers, may find themselves mistaken in them to their Cost. 'Tis true, we are short-sighted enough, and do not often discover Danger at a great Distance. The *English*, whether from native Honesty or Courage, are not prone to Jealousy and Suspicion. Yet the hideous and monstrous Appearance a near approach of *Popery* and *Slavery* would make, will be apt to startle an *Englishman* himself: And what they are like to do in such a Juncture, we may reasonably guess from what they bravely did at the *Revolution*. And even such of Them, to put the worst, as cannot see at all, may have some feeling left; as these same *Plotters* have e'er now found. As fond as some of our Gentry appear of the Company and Politicks of these Leaders, surely they retain some little Love for Themselves, and will hardly be willing to part with one half of their Estates to them. Whenever it comes to this, I cannot think but they would rather submit to the Inconvenience of a Protestant Prince, and the Protestant Religion, than purchase Popery and a Popish Pretender (as much their Darlings as they are) at the Price of all their Church Lands. *Earl of Albemarle's speech to the House of Commons, 1745.*

What then, may it be said, can yet induce Men to engage anew in such mischievous Designs, when it is upon so many Accounts highly improbable they should ever succeed? We find that in spite of all Discouragement, no sooner is one Design detected and prevented, but another is set on Foot. The Discovery of one Plot only turns them out of the Way they were

were then in ; but they immediately step into another, by which they hope to arrive at their propos'd End.

Some have from hence taken Occasion to discredit the Advantages of *Liberty*, and the happy State of a *free People* : As if *Plots* and seditious Contrivances against the Peace of a Nation, and Authority of a Government, were Evils naturally arising from Freedom and Liberty ; and that they are abundantly more frequent among a Free People, than among those that live under Absolute and Arbitrary Power.

But whoever considers the History of our Own or other Nations, will find this is false in Fact, and so a Scandal on Liberty : That most *Plots*, and the Disturbances occasion'd by them, have had their Spring and Original from Men of Arbitrary Designs, and who were contriving the Slavery of their Country. It is certain, the generous Principles of Liberty have been often exerted on such Occasions : But 'tis as certain, they have not been exerted in *Plotting* against others so much as in a necessary Self-Defence, and to prevent the Effect of *Plots* form'd against themselves. Whence arose the Tumults and Disorders of the *Roman State* in the Times of *Sylla*, *Caroline*, *Cesar*, &c. ? Did they spring from the Principles of *Roman Liberty*, or *their Ambition* and Tyranny ? It was when *Cesar* had trampled on the Rights of *Rome*, and was upon the Point of extinguishing their Liberties for ever ; that a Zeal for Freedom dictated that Paper to be fix'd on the Statue of *Brutus*, *Utinam viveres*. 'Tis true, when Men have been inur'd to a *Turkish* or *Swedish* Slavery,

Slavery, they may in Time become Slaves in the Temper of their Minds, as much as in the Circumstances of their Condition ; and so grow Tame in the most abject and miserable State : But he must sure be a Madman, or worse, one that hopes to share in the Spoils of his ruin'd Country, who can think such a Misery more to be desired, than the worst Inconveniences that can attend a Struggle for Liberty, and therein for all that is dear and valuable to Men.

It may however be one possible Encouragement to ill-designing Men, under a free Government, that they may hope more easily to *escape* their deserved *Punishment*, by the Benefit of such Forms and Methods of Conviction, which are settled as a Barrier to the Liberties of the Subject: Yet, in truth, it is commonly seen, that the Affections of a People to a good Government, and the Sense of Common Interest to preserve it from Danger and Insult, is a Security as effectual, as if the Prince had an Arbitrary Power to do himself Right: And tho' a People may be blinded for a Season, so as not to perceive the ill Intentions and Practices of such Malecontents ; perhaps be so far deluded, as to favour them ; yet a general Infatuation seldom lasts very long under a good and steady Administration: And when once they come to have their Eyes opened, 'tis not uncommon to resent the Injury done *Themselves* by being impos'd upon, as well as the Injury intended to their Prince and Country. But least of all can the *Plots* of our Times be assign'd to such a Cause, as the Liberty of a free People. The Men concern'd in
them,

them, and the Ends they propose and aim at by them, are irreconcilable to all Liberty whatsoever, Ecclesiastical or Civil. These Persons and Designs are avowed and sworn Enemies to both. They must certainly then be kept alive by other Encouragements, and proceed from other Principles.

• If we look back to the State of this Nation, ever since the *Reformation*, we shall find the *Papists* have been kept in Heart, and in some Hopes of seeing Popery restor'd again, upon many Accounts; and to these Encouragements, with the Use they have made of them, I think we may principally ascribe their bold Perseverance in plotting with their Associates both at Home and Abroad against us. For Instance,

In many Reigns of our Princes, since that Time, They have been heartned either by a Popish Pretender to the Crown, or with the Hopes of a Popish Succession. Good King *Edward* did not outlive his Minority; and it appear'd They were not mistaken in their Expectations from his Successor *Queen Mary*. *Queen Elizabeth* had innumerable *Plots* against her Person and Government, of which *Mary Queen of Scots* was the Life and Soul, both as a Pretender to the Crown, during her Life, and as the Next to her in Lineal Succession. King *Charles II.* besides his own personal Favours to the *Papists*, had his Brother a *Papist* for his Successor; and the Glorious King *William* had the same Person (with all his Friends) as an abdicated King, to contend with during his Reign.

These

These Circumstances were encouraging enough, to make that Party active and stirring, and keep their Cause and Endeavours to promote it so long alive and vigorous among us. In many Reigns also, They found our Princes Themselves, tho' Heads of a Protestant Church, too well inclin'd not only to tolerate, but to favour Them. There were but two Reigns since the Reformation, in which they have not had the foremention'd Encouragements, either of a Popish Pretender, or a Popish Successor; I mean the Reigns of *James I.* and *Charles I.* Yet in both these Reigns They had the Success, by several Methods, to gain a great Interest in the Government it self; so far as to obtain Money, and some even illegal Favours from those Princes. What Concessions to their Interest did They obtain from King *James*, in hopes of the *Spanish Match*? And what substantial Encouragement had They from the Match that afterwards succeeded with a *French Papist*? The first *Parliament* of King *Charles's* Reign was opened *June 18, 1625*, (which by the way was many Years before 1640) They, in a Petition to the King, thus represent their Sense, both of the Danger from these Men, and the Causes of it, which is very full to my present Purpose.

* " The Dangers from the Papists (They say)
 " appear in their desperate Designs, being both
 " the Subversion of the Church and State;
 " and the Restlessness of those Spirits to attain

* *Rushworth's Collections*, Part 1. p. 181.

“ these Ends; the Doctrines of their Teachers
 “ and Leaders perswading Them, that there-
 “ in they do God good Service.

“ Their evident and strict Dependency up-
 “ on such Foreign Princes, as no Way affect
 “ the Good of your Majesty or this State.

“ The principal Causes of these Dangers
 “ (They say, among other Things) is,

“ The Want of the due Execution of the
 “ Laws against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and
 “ Popish Recusants, occasioned partly by the
 “ Connivancy of the State, partly by Defects
 “ in the Laws themselves, and partly by the
 “ manifest Abuse of Officers.

“ The Interposing of Foreign Princes by their
 “ Embassadors and Agents in favour of Them.

“ The Employment of Men ill-affected in
 “ Religion, in Places of Government, who do,
 “ shall, or may countenance the Popish Party.

Besides these Advantages, the Party I am speaking of usually had one more; that to many Purposes was full out as useful to Them, as any of the Former; that is, to find the Superstition of the Common People, and the Weakness or Ambition of some of the Clergy, ready not only to receive, but to defend and propagate their Principles: So that they were not without Hopes *Poper*y might return, under the Protection of what were said to be the Principles of the *Church of England*. When They had artfully exposed to Contempt such Protestants as wish'd a farther Reformation, They soon found a Party who were willing to declare with them, we had reformed a good deal too far. And warmly espous'd such a
 Church

Church Power, and Independency of Government, as was not only contrary to the Opinion of all our Reformers, but to the whole Constitution of the Church, as by Law establish'd.

No Wonder the Papists should be encourag'd to persist in an Endeavour to restore their Superstition, when They saw many in the Church it self, and of no mean Rank and Figure, heartily for a *Laudean* Reformation of the Church of *England* back to Popery, and as hearty against the *Cranmerean Deformation* of the Church, as some of Them spightfully term'd our legal Constitution. n.b.

Such, were, in former Times, the Supports of these Men ; who have been in a perpetual *Plot* against us to this Day. But on the other Side, for the Encouragement of all sincere Protestants, who love the Peace and Welfare of their Prince and Country, we may hope They will now daily decrease. Many of them are already provided against. We have now all the Security that Law can give against the Danger of a Popish Successor : And all Reason to believe from the Title and plain Interest of our present Prince and his Issue, that this Party shall never again take Heart, thro' any Connivance or illegal Support and Countenance from the Throne. 'Tis true, we have a discontented Party of these People among us ; resolv'd in their Designs, one would think, even to Madness ; yet They have open'd one Thing to us, by their late Measures, that we may take for a good Omen, That They see it necessary Themselves to change their Methods of practising upon us. The Prince it seems

They find is not to be imposed upon, and drawn into their Measures, by any of their Artificial Management ; nor can they hearten Themselves now in the Hopes of a Popish Succession, unless They can make one for Themselves by a Rebellion or an Invasion. This They seem sensible of, when They make their Application for Help and Succour to the hare-brain'd Knight-Errant of the North. What a Man of his fierce, revengeful and implacable Spirit may attempt for Them, is uncertain : But whatever They may expect from his Fury, or the Madness of some among our selves, we have Reason to believe, tho it give us some Disturbance for a Time, it may end in Ruin to Them and their Cause. On our Side, we have the Protection of a Prince, wise and vigilant, resolved and steady, of experienced Conduct and Courage, and in Possession of all the Legal Power of the Nation. And how much soever his Enemies may flatter Themselves, in the Disaffection of some to his Person, Family, and Government, he has undoubtedly the Hearts and real Affections of very many, as well as their Oaths and Assurances of Fidelity ; and of many too, who can say upon the noblest Principles, from a Love to the Protestant Religion, and the Liberties of their Country,

Charles the 12.
King of Sweden.
Lie & Co.
of Sweden.
Protection
by G. Gyllen.
1717

Dulce & Decorum est pro Patria mori.

And what may not be expected from an hearty Affection to a good Cause, and under the Conduct of a wise and steady Management, and for which the Divine Providence has of-

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ten appeared in many Instances, exceedingly remarkable?

Upon the whole, there seems to be but one Thing wanting to secure our present Happiness and future Peace, from all the Designs of our Enemies : That is, the Use we ought to make of these continu'd Rebellions and *Plots* against the Protestant Religion, and more especially the Protestant Succession in the present Royal Family.

Plots when discovered and prevented, as many of these have been, usually bring two Advantages to the Persons against whom they are form'd : Hereby the Way is discover'd by which the Enemy hope to hurt Them, and they are led to observe their own weak side, whatever it is, either in Constitution or Administration ; and this affords them the surest Advice, how to weaken the Hands of their Enemies, and strengthen their own.

Fas est & ab Hoste doceri.

Every State (says a noted Politician) is best maintain'd by the same Principles on which it was founded ; and for the same Reason is best attack'd by such Doctrines and Principles as sap and unsettle that Foundation. / When it appears what are the Seeds and the Principles of our Rebellions, what shall excuse Us if we do not pursue the Advantages of such a Discovery ? Set a Mark on the Principles that lead to Rebellion ; and endeavour to root out those poisonous Seeds, which, while they remain, will at every Turn, shoot out a fresh in new Designs against us ? It is a very plain Question,

n.b.

No. Question, which has a very easy Answer, " Was the present Establishment founded on " the Principles usually, and with great Solemnity, taught in many Parts of the Nation, " on the 30th of *January*? That is, on Principles that were ever false, but are now Treason in their direct Consequences; and are often deliver'd in such Terms, as do not only incline, but incite and provoke poor People to rebel. Is it the best Foundation of a Government to teach People, that, in obeying it, they submit to a successful Rebellion or Usurpation, which it may be lawful for them to do, when it is in Fact the supreme Government? Or does not this serve to make a Prince sit on his Throne in a very precarious manner, when his Subjects are taught not to own his Seat there, as of Right, as a Thing they can stand by before God and Man, from the bottom of their Souls?

Another Advantage which usually a Government has by the Discovery of *Plots* against it is, to know what sort of Men they can never safely confide in: Such on whom the *Plotters* chiefly rely, They who are apparently united with them in all their common Measures, are not, in common Prudence, to be trusted far. And sure such Men should never have it again in their Power to hurt Us, who have always shewn their Inclination to use whatever Power they have had, either to betray or obstruct the Counsels, or else to thwart the Measures and clog the Wheels of the Government: In particular, our late Rebellion should advise us of one Caution, not to depend very much on such wonderful Securities, as *Oaths* and *Sacraments*;

Note

ments; Ties to Few but such as will be Honest without them. / Thanks to the Casuistical Skill of this Age, Men have now learn'd the Secret, how they may solemnly say any deceitful *Untruth* without telling a *Lye*, and swear any thing *falsly*, without being *foresworn*: but 'tis to be hop'd even this Evil may produce one Convenience, and shew our Government there is a much better Test of Men; and that is, their known and try'd Characters, Principles, and Practices. We shall hardly make a right use of discover'd *Plots* and suppress'd Rebellions, or well provide against them for the Time to come, unless we learn this from them; " To distinguish such as with Courage and " Zeal, have at all Times stood for the Government, and resolve to live and die by " the Protestant Settlement, as useful Friends, " and Persons much better deserving Encouragement and Trust, than such as remain'd " Neuter to see which side would prevail; or " than such who under all the Ties of Oaths " and Sacraments for their Fidelity, us'd all their " Power for the Assistance of our Enemies, and " to give Encouragement to their Designs against Us. In a word, after so great Advantage given, we shall be despis'd for our want of Skill to improve it, unless we learn this Lesson from the firm Union of our Enemies among themselves; " To unite all those in a " mutual Confidence of each other, that are " hearty Friends to the Protestant Religion; and to put 'em into a Capacity to promote jointly the perpetual Security of it. The good Lord *Russel* recommended this plain and obvious Policy long since, with his dying Words; when

when that Noble Person fell a Victim to Popish Resentment, and dy'd a glorious Martyr to the Religion and Liberties of his Country.
 " * I wish with all my Heart (says he) all our
 " unhappy Differences were removed, and
 " that all sincere Protestants would so far consider the Danger of Popery, as to lay aside
 " these Heats, and agree against the Common
 " Enemy.

* Lord Russel's Paper, deliver'd to the Sheriffs.

F I N I S.



T H E
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. N U M B. IV.

O F
R E M O V I N G
T H E
I N C A P A C I T I E S
O F
Protestant Dissenters.

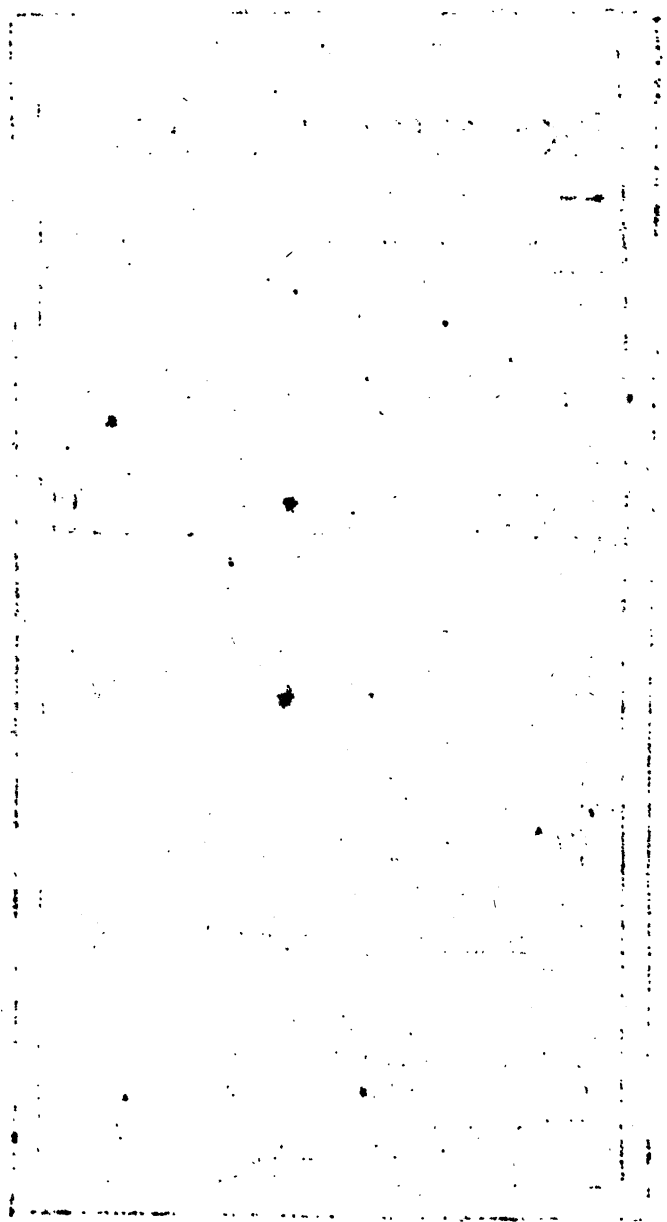
We are freed, I hope, for ever, of all the Remnants of the worst Part of Popery that we had retained, I mean the Spirit of Persecution. If this gives Uneasiness to any, it shews that their Eye is Evil, because the Eye of our Legislators is good toward Those, who tho' they may be mistaken in their Notions, yet have still the Rights of Men and of Christians.

Burner's Tracts, Vol. II. Exhortation to Peace.

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Of Removing the
INCAPACITIES
OF
Protestant Dissenters.

IT can be no surprize to the World, for the Author of a Paper, writ with an avowed Design to serve the Interest of Truth, Liberty and Catholick Christianity, to speak out his Sense upon the Grand Matter of present Debate, and frankly declare for removing the Incapacities of Dissenters, of which there have been so many, and just Complaints

I do not expect such Resignation in my Readers, as to come into my Sentiments without Conviction ; I have therefore thrown together some Considerations which make it evident to my self, and if I am not deceived will perswade others, that, as these Hardships were brought on without being deserved, so there are many Reasons why they should now be removed, and not one found Reason against it.

Those Acts which have made the Dissenters incapable of Civil Offices, were either
A 2 framed

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framed with quite different Purposes at first, and perverted when thus applied; or else had certainly worse Designs at Bottom, for which this Incapacity was to clear the way.

N. B.

The *Test Act* was the Contrivance of the Famous Lord *Shaftsbury*, who was no Enemy to Protestant Dissenters, and a Zealous Friend to the Liberties of his Country. The Design of it, as appears from the Title and Contents, was to Secure the Protestant Religion, by excluding *Roman Catholics* from Places of Trust, who were creeping into Power through the Connivance of the Court and the Contrivance and Favour of a Popish Heir. It was not intended to affect Protestant Dissenters; who were declared to be Friends to their Country, and the Protestant Religion; were known to Communicate with the Established Church before that Act was framed; and are never mentioned in it; But the Papists, by the Influence they had at Court, found a way to turn it against its first Design, and make it serve Purposes contrary to those of its first Contrivers; that is, to weaken the Protestant Interest, by dividing Protestants among themselves.

N. B.

Two Passages relating to this Matter, will give strength to what I have said. In the Year 1687, King *James the II.* finding the *Test Act* stand in his way, and shut his Friends the Papists out of Employments, endeavours to procure a Repeal; and, as a Considerable Step to it, to gain the Consent of the Prince and Princess of *Orange* the next Heir. They, in answer to the King's Letter, profess a willingness that the Papists enjoy their Religion as in *Holland*, but could not consent to

of Protestant Dissenters.

to their Admission to Places, or think it consistent with the Safety of the Protestant Religion.

But that their Highnesses had different Sentiments of the Protestant Dissenters, is obvious from this other Passage: In the Year 1689, King William recommends it to the Parliament, to leave room for the Admission of all Protestants to serve him, which would tend to the better Uniting them among themselves, and Strengthening them against the common Enemy: Such an Act was accordingly brought in, to Qualify Protestant Subjects for Civil Offices, either without receiving the Sacrament, or upon receiving it in their own Congregations: This being rejected, several Lords entered their Protest, with some of the clearest and most convincing Reasons, one shall easily meet with:

n.b.

This plainly shews the Dissenters were not within the Intention of the Act, according to the Scheme of those by whom it was first projected; and that in the Opinion of our best Princes and Patriots the Edge of it should not be turned against them.

The *Occasional Bill* was thrice pushed in the Reign of the late Queen, without Effect. It was brought in under pretence of farther Security to the Established Church, in the first Year of her Reign 1702. by Mr. Bromley, Mr. S. John, and Mr. Annesley. The Prince was drawn in to give his Vote for it by the Settlement of a 100000 l. a Year, during his Life, after the Queen's Demise. It passed the House of Commons, but was clogged by the Majority of the Bishops in the other House; and after a celebrated Debate between

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tween some Principals of each House, was drop'd for that Time. In the Year 1703, the Queen opens the Session of Parliament with an Exhortation to avoid Heats and Divisions, as giving Advantage to the common Enemies of Church and State: Yet the zealous Men revive the Bill; leave out the Preamble against Persecution, which was in the former; and any mention of the A^ct of Indulgence, which ought to be inviolably observed; and with a strange Gloss upon the Test A^ct, and some Alteration of the Penalty, it passed the House of Commons again; but at the second Reading was rejected by the Lords.

One would think the Miscarriage of this Bill a second Time, should have discouraged any fresh Attempt: But they are so set upon it, that in 1704, even after the Queen had told them, *she hoped there would be no Contention among them, but who should most promote the Publick Good*, it was again brought in and read a first and second Time. On which last Occasion the Partisans for the Bill in the House of Commons, finding the strenuous Opposition made to it among themselves, and therefore despairing to carry it through the Lords in the ordinary Course, moved to have it tacked to the Money-Bill; which was a bold Attempt on the Negative of the Prince and House of Lords; and had the Vote been carried, would have forced the Dissolution of the Parliament, and prevented all the Preparations for the War that Year. So that the State was like to have been ruined by this Bill for the Church's Security: Which made the Queen tell that Parliament at their rising, of their *Escaping the fatal Effects of unreasona-*
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of Protestant Dissenters. 7

ble Humour and Animosity, and warn them against any dangerous Experiments for the future.

Yet in the same Sessions this Party got the single Bill passed in the Commons House without a Tack ; but upon the first reading, it was rejected by a great Majority in the House of Lords.

Thus the Matter rested for some Years, the most glorious Part of the Queen's Reign. But in 1711, after the Ministry was changed, and every thing began to take a new Turn, the same Bill for Substance was again brought upon the Stage, and after so long a Struggle and vigorous Opposition, passed the Lords in a critical Juncture, in hopes of gaining some zealous Churchmen to the common Interest. When all seemed at Stake, a Part was given up to prevent the Destruction of the Whole, and the Dissenters sacrificed to a mistaken Point of Policy.

The *Schism Bill* was brought into the Commons House by Sir *William Wyndham*, and promoted with Zeal in the House of Lords by the late Lord *Bolingbroke*, then Secretary of State, in the last Year of the Queen's Reign : With what Views, their Conduct since sufficiently explains: It was passed with uncommon Vigour and Dispatch, against the briskest Opposition ever made by the whole Body of Dissenters: This was to prepare the Way for another Bill, which was to have been an home Thrust, and disfranchise them at once ; it having been offered in one House, that the Schism should be drop'd, provided Dissenters might be incapable of Voting in the Choice of a Parliament. And I believe none, who consider the Agents for this Bill with-

n. b.

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within Doors, or the Talkers for it without, will think this kind Offer was made for the Security of the Protestant Succession, or the Disservice of the Pretender; But a remarkable Providence stopp'd them short in their Designs, before they could be ripe for Execution.

So that if we judge of these Bills by their Birth and Original, or their plain Tendency and Design, they were either never intended to hurt or disable any Protestant Subjects and Friends to the Constitution; or else under a sham Pretence of securing the Church, were really designed to serve the Interest of the Pretender, and to keep his present Majesty out of his Throne, or make him a Property to those that call'd themselves the *Church Party*. The Zeal of the Dissenters for the Protestant Succession, and their Firmness to the Settlement, drew the Hatred of some who were no Friends to either, and brought upon them their latest and most heavy Grievances. And now when his Majesty is on the Throne there is no Abatement of this Zeal and Firmness, I own it looks not a little unreasonable to me, for them to be left still bound and oppressed.

But their Conduct under their ill Treatment and Oppression speaks still more loudly in their Favour. Any People in the World would make a Merit of such a steady Regard to the Publick Good. It would be no hard Matter to produce many generous Instances of their Self-Denial and Neglect of their private Interests and Honours, when there was Appearance of their Country's receiving Advantage by it: Or to show, that when they have made a strenuous Opposition to Measures formed for

of Protestant Dissenters. 9

for their Hurt, they have acted more with a Concern for the Publick Interests than their own. Nay, when their Fetters were put on, their Conduct was manifestly govern'd by a Publick Spirit.

The generous Self-denial of Alderman *Love*, then a Member of Parliament for this City, upon K. *Charles II's* Declaration for *Liberty of Conscience*, in 1672, must never be forgotten by the Enemies of a dispensing Power. He was one of the first and warmest in remonstrating against it in the House of Commons, tho' he was a known Dissenter, out of pure Regard to the Authority of the Laws, and his Zeal for the Protestant Interest.

When the *Test Act* was made in the same Reign, and thought by some great Patriots a necessary Bulwark against Popery, it is well known how patiently they acquiesced, tho' they did not want Sagacity to know, the People then in Power would make them chiefly feel the Edge of it.

The many Vexations they felt from that and other Penal Laws in the remainder of that Reign, might have been expected to prepare them to come as one Man into any Measures for easing them of their Burdens. But tho' they were closeted, and courted, and menaced, to bring them into the Designs of the Court in King *James's* Time for repealing these Laws, the Main Body of them were inflexible. They foresaw what use that Popish Court would make of their Compliance; and their own Ease was of no Consideration with them, when laid in the Balance with the Danger of the Protestant Religion and the Liberties of their Country.

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The Dissenters in *Ireland* have copied after the Pattern set them by their Brethren here. When the Heads of an excellent Bill against the Popish Interest in that Kingdom, were in the last Reign transmitted from their Parliament to the *English* Court for Approbation in the usual Form, the Imposition of the Test was clapped in as a Rider, by the Art and Interest of a bigotted S——y and High Church Attorney. How the Commons of that Kingdom resented this Usage upon the return of the Bill, is well remember'd there. But the Dissenters in the House generously declared they had rather bear that Imposition upon themselves, till a favourable Juncture should offer for reuniting the Protestant Interest, than lose a Bill so necessary for weakening the Popish.

It is true, the *English* Dissenters struggled with all their Might against the *Occasional Bill* when first set a-foot here, not merely upon Selfish Views, but out of invariable Regard to their Country. The noble Patriots among the Lords who managed upon that Occasion, took care to let the World know that they were as sensible as the Dissenters themselves, what a Blow it would be at the Root of the Revolution Interest. And whether the Event has not confirmed those Apprehensions since it passed into a Law, both the Enemies and Friends of that Interest are able to judge.

However, when the Bill was more lately reviv'd against them, and brought in by the Friends of the Protestant Succession, over all their own invincible Reasons, on the Hope =
= of gaining a Man to that Interest who was suppos'd capable of silencing the Cry of the Church

Secretary

Church against it; perhaps a greater Instance of Resignation and Self-Denial never was, than what the Dissenters shewed on that Occasion. They thought it unkind to be made a Sacrifice to the Humour of a doubtful new Convert, nor were they without Apprehensions that the Friends of the Succession would find him but a Single Ten, if not catch a Tartar in him, yet after all they sat down in Silence: Nor would they suffer themselves to be influenced by the aggravating Representations of this Usage, made to some of them by the prime Minister; nor be persuaded to abandon the Whigs in any future Elections or common Danger; or take one Step out of Chagrine, that might be disserviceable to the Succession. Several of them indeed who were satisfied in the Lawfulness of Occasional Conformity, could not totally abandon that Way of Worship which they thought most eligible, and therefore resigned their Offices. Others who were in Stations of greatest Consequence, and earnestly pressed by the principal Friends of the Succession, not to quit their Posts and give up all into the Enemies Hands, were content to deny themselves for a Season, in Hope they might secure the common Interest: And to this Day continue to shew their Regard to the Publick in the greatest Instances of Self-denial.

The *Schism Bill*, to which they made such vigorous Opposition, may at first View seem to concern themselves only, and that the Publick was not so deeply interested in it: but if the Readers will remember what has been said of that Matter before, that it was the known Intention of it to prepare the Way for

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a Bill that would have been mischievous to the Publick to the last Degree, they will easily see, that the Dissenters, in the Opposition they made to it, were struggling for their Country, and not merely for themselves, and were therefore influenced by much nobler Views than a narrow Regard to their own Party.

What their Conduct hath been since his Majesty's Accession, needs not be told. They have acted up to their Character And their Sovereign has done them the Honour to declare to the World, that *he is fully convinced of the Loyalty and Zeal of the Protestant Dissenters.*

And have these Men deserv'd the Incapacities and Shackles put upon them? And if they have not merited such hard Usage, must they suffer under a just Administration, without any Demerit? And has *Britain* no Claim to the Service of Men of such a Spirit? nor the Sovereign of *Britain*? If they have shewn such sacred Regards to the common Interests under Persecution, Discouragement and unmerited Restraint, would they shew no Zeal for them, if they were put into a Capacity to exert themselves to their utmost?

But it is obvious to all Men who think justly, and will be taught by Experience, that these Incapacitating Bills have done real Mischief to us, as well as depriv'd their Country of the Service of Dissenters. The Test Act was of all those which grieve them, the most sincerely intended to weaken the Popish and secure the Protestant Interest among us, and yet it hath had the quite contrary Effects, and Papists observe them with Pleasure.

This has put it into Peoples Heads to regard

gard the Church of *England* as something very different not only from Dissenters at home, but all other Communion throughout the Protestant World.

This hath raised, and very much increased, the Prejudices of our Countrymen against Foreigners though Protestants, and led them to hate and despise them as belonging to Churches much less sacred and venerable than their own.

This hath made them so angry against all Projects for a Naturalization.

This hath made them averse to, and uneasy under the Happy Settlement of our Crown first on King *William*, and since on King *George*. The one was despised as a *Calvinist*, the other is daily insulted as a *Lutheran*, and so unfit to Reign over us, or be the Head of the Church of *England*, a Church by her self, that hath nothing to do with *Augsburg*, *Geneva* or *Rome*.

This has reconciled them to see their Fellow Subjects ill used in numberless Instances, if by submitting to this Test they can't approve themselves good Churchmen.

And then it is no wonder if it hath helped to inflame the Heats among *English* Protestants, to an Height: pleasing to Papists, and prejudicial and dangerous to the Nation.

This hath tempted many to conform against Conscience, either for Profit or Capacity of doing Service in a Place. And Men by making free with their Consciences in one Case, are disposed to do it in another, and prepared by degrees for every kind of Fraud, and Perjury it self. What Profligate Wretches, very Pests to the Nation and the World, have

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have some Men amongst us become from these Beginnings?

good, and

And it hath had a much worse Effect still, by forcing Men of no Morals or Conscience, to starve for want of Common Bread, or to profane what is Holy.

It hath been own'd by the Legislature, that it hath been a grand Occasion of Hypocrisy, and to prevent this Evil, was one of the kind Pretences for bringing in the *Occasional Bill*.

But whatever was the Design, the Effects of it are plainly Prejudicial to his Majesty's and the Nation's Interests. Certain it is, that many Corporations in the Kingdom were, by that Act, put into Hands that are either actually Disaffected to the Succession, or Raw Youths and Indigent Persons, little above the Condition of Beggars. And in many Corporations in *England* where Vacancies are to be filled up, the Choice must fall upon such Persons of Necessity, if Dissenters are Excluded. How vast a Difficulty is it to Chuse a Common Council of Substantial Citizens, Hearty in the Interest of the Government, even in *London*, since that Bill took Place? And had not Sir T—A— and Sir J—P— been willing to labour under the Inconveniences of a Private Worship for a Time, to serve the Government, the Court of Aldermen had much suffered by it too: Had those Gentlemen laid down their Gowns, there is Reason to believe others might have done the same, not as Dissenters, but as despairing after that, to serve their City and their Country as they desired to do.

Sir Thomas Ab.
ney,

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In how many Counties in *England* are Justices wanting to keep the Peace? When Men in such Posts shall countenance Riots instead of suppressing them, and encourage Insults on the Government, will not this spread Disloyalty instead of curing it? And hath not this been the Case in many Places of *England* of late, for want of more fit Persons to intrust with this Commission?

And is it not evident to every one, that Elections for Parliament in Counties, and especially in Cities and Corporations, depend much on the good Dispositions of those in Power? And doth not the want of such well affected Persons, render the Choice of a good Parliament extreamly Difficult or Expensive? Thanks be to GOD, we have one now in being, that is entirely in the Interests of our King and our County; but is not the Septennial Bill that was pass'd last Session, a Confession of this Truth? And hath not this Difficulty increased since the *Occasional Bill*? Was it not originally form'd upon that View?

Besides, the Government is not only deprived of the Service of Dissenters in Places of Power, but whilst they remain under this Incapacity, it loses much of the Service they might do in a private Station. For being mark'd out by the disqualifying Acts as unfit to be trusted with Publick Offices; this is in Effect, to make them infamous: and all Friendship for them, or Respect from them, will bring in others for a Share in this Infamy. This hath converted Bishops into *Presbyterians*; and made Ministers of State, that are as far from being Dissenters as Dr. *Sacheverel* himself, yet pass for False Brethren, and be hated

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hated as such. If by the Voice of Publick Laws, and the Insinuations of their cunning Leaders, the Multitude are taught to believe that all Dissenters are unfit to serve the Government; it is easy for the Enemies of it to put it into their Heads, that all for whom Dissenters appear, and whose Interests they serve, are Men of dangerous Principles. And how often, and how earnestly have the heartiest Friends of the Government, nay and of the Church, it self, under this Influence, been reproached and opposed? So that by this Means, the whole Intest of Dissenters is in a great Measure lost to the Government, and the Reputation of many others diminished, and their Interest weaken'd, who are the heartiest Friends to Church and State.

And is not the Interest of the Nation and that of Protestants in general, much lessen'd, by keeping up Divisions and Quarrels? And is not this the immediate and direct Effect of these disqualifying Laws? When one Party, and that with reason, thinks it self injured and oppressed; and the other Party, that they may defend these Laws, will think the Restraints needfull and deserved. Must not this naturally beget Dislike of each other, and so create Distance and Disaffection, and for ever feed the Party Spirit, so mischievous to our selves, and so much the Delight of our common Enemies?

So that the Mischiefs proceeding from the Incapacities of Dissenters are many, and greatly affect the Publick. From hence it will follow, that the taking off the Incapacities must be Beneficial, in proportion to the Damage now sustained by them. Many great Advantages would

would accrue to the State in the several Parts and Branches of it.

The Throne now stands on the Foot of *Protestantism* *; must it not strengthen this Foundation, to put all those into a Capacity of serving the Crown, who are hearty Friends to the Protestant Interest? What can be a greater Security against Popish Claims, and the Encroachments of Popish Power and Policy, than to discountenance those who have always valued themselves on their Approaches to Popery; and employ those, who are at a farther Distance from it? They are never like to strengthen a Protestant Government; who set up for all that Ecclesiastical Power which makes the Tyranny of *Rome*; and who insist clamorously on those very Doctrines that were at first the Promoters, and are still the Support of the Papal Usurpations. The more intirely Protestant the Prince is who possesses the Throne of these Nations, the more necessary doth it appear, that all who are thorough Protestants should be capable of serving him, and that all who lean towards Popery should be treated as Persons, who are for weakening and ruining the Foundation on which the Throne is fixed.

From the Sovereign we may proceed to the *Ministers of State*. It is their Interest to have Men of such Principles as Protestant Dissenters employed under them. How often do we hear Complaints, of their wanting such as are thorowly Honest and Trusty, to fill up inferior Places? And where are these more likely to be met with than among them, who have given the surest Proofs of their Honesty and Integrity, by going through very great

* *Vid.* Act of Settlement.

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Reproach, and many Hardships upon that Account? There can be no Danger of Dissenters getting into any *chief* Places, not one Nobleman being now left amongst them. And as to lower Places, it must contribute much to the Ease and Safety of the Principal Ministers, to have Men of proved Integrity, and intire Attachment to the Present Government under them.

The Advantage will appear yet more considerable, if we look into Cities and Corporations. How necessary it is to the Welfare of the State, that these should be in good Hands, hath been shewn above. And how needful it is to this End, that Dissenters should be in a Capacity of bearing Office, cannot be unknown to any that are acquainted with the State of the Kingdom. In how many of these Places must you take in Dissenters, if you will have Men of Probity, Sense and Fortune, and hearty Friends to the present Settlement, made Magistrates? If you will have Tumults and Riots, and the loudest Insults on his Majesty, and Outrages on his faithful Subjects suppressd and prevented, or hinder the Persecution of such as in the most orderly manner express their Affection to the Government. If you will prevent Soldiers, that are quarter'd in disaffected Places to awe his Majesty's Enemies, being made a Burden to his Friends; or secure a fair Election, and honest Return of Members for Parliament.

And many of the same Reasons will urge for their being employ'd in Commissions of the Peace. In *Lancashire* and many other Places, there is great need of them, unless you will trust that Power in the Hands of Papists, or their dear Allies.

If from hence we look to the *Sheriffs* of Counties, none need to be informed, how much County Elections may depend upon their good Management and faithful Returns; or how much depends upon their Care and Influence in many important Tryals in Courts of Judicature, particularly in empannelling Juries, that may be honest and careful in their Verdicts. And that Dissenters have been wanted to act in those Places, seems pretty plain, since we have found so many of their Names in the late Lists.

Yet again, I should think it a very great Advantage to the present Government, to have some of the warmest for the Protestant Religion, and the present Settlement, among the Collectors of Taxes, especially in the Excise. There is no Danger of their talking much of Religion in Alehouses, and amongst that Company they will be obliged to frequent, and so the Church need be in no Apprehensions from them. And by spreading good Accounts of the Government, of the Prince and the Administration, the State is sure to be much the Better for them.

And after all, I am persuaded the Government will soon find the happy Effects of giving fresh Vigour and Spirit to a disheartned People; since this will render them more Active in its Service. It will also promote Emulation in those of the Church Party who are well Affected. And it will most Effectually Discourage the Papists and the Disaffected, to see their Measures crossed in an Instance, which above all others they thought themselves most sure to prevent. It will serve to strengthen exceedingly all those who are of truly Catholick Principles in Religion, and

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Advocates for a greater Freedom and Liberty in Matters of Controversy. And must promote a stricter Friendship between us and Foreign Protestants.

And then to those who have any remaining Concern for Virtue and good Manners, it will be thought Considerable to add, that by the Influence and Management of Dissenters, were they in Power, many of those Vices that are become most Intolerable and Prevailing, would be more Constantly, and so more Effectually Punished and Restrained.

I say this, not only as a Testimony of my Regard to the Societies for Reformation of Manners, but as an *Englishman*, and with a Concern to prevent the Success of Popish Plots. It hath ever been a main Branch of these to excite all Manner of Vice. By this they lay waste the Consciences of Men, that they may not be restrained by Fears, from any Immoralities that will serve their Purposes. By this they bring them to neglect their Business and lead Loitering Lives; that being always at a loose End and having nothing to do, they may employ them in a way that will most suit their vicious Temper. By this they carry them to waste their Substance and impoverish their Families, that so being in Circumstances wherein they have nothing to lose, they may be the more easily engaged in Tumults and Rebellions, where there is a Prospect of somewhat to be gained.

All these good Effects would certainly follow upon taking off the Legal Incapacities from Dissenters, and leaving Civil Offices open to them. The present Government would have many Advantages from it, and the Protestant Interest much Encouragement and Support.

But

But would that Countervail the Damage the Established Church will receive by it?

No doubt but the Church's Danger, would in such a Case be the loud Cry of the Party; however odd it looks, that what is certainly for the Service of a Protestant King and Constitution, and the Support of the Protestant Interest, should carry Terror in it to a Protestant Church, that very Church which is a Branch of the Constitution. But they have been so much used of late to Cheap Belief, I mean at the Cost of no good Reason, that 'twill be no wonder if they swallow the Hook without being Covered.

But to Men of Thought and Reflection, I am persuaded I can make it appear, that this Relief to Dissenters will not only well consist with the Church's Establishment; but help to secure it; if by the Church Established I may be allowed to understand the Protestant Religion, as practised according to the legal Constitution, Articles and Worship, and not the Catholick Church with which our Modern Fanaticks make such a Noise.

It will be for the Honour of the Church of *England* to remove the Incapacities from Dissenters, by taking off the Odium of *Persecution* from her. I know they are denied to be Persecution. No one is willing to own so foul an Imputation. But the depriving a Man of a legal Right without Forfeiture on his Part, for no Civil Crime, nay for what is owned to be a Duty by those who yet contrive to prevent it, is to me a Wantonness of Persecution, And this is the very Case before us. For receiving the Sacrament with the Church of *England* is no legal Crime, 'tis in the Account of those who would keep Dissenters

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separating from it an important Duty, and worshipping God with a separate Congregation of Protestants is legally allowed.

To which let me add, that Communion of Saints (meaning, as I suppose, not those of our own Cut or Stamp only) is according to the Creed : Receiving each other without Regard to doubtful Disputation, is according to St. Paul : According to what then must it be, to punish a Practice which is according to the Laws of the Land, the Doctrine of St. Paul and the Apostles Creed ? According to the very Spirit of Persecution.

To declare against Persecution, and yet deprive Men of their Birthrights for Conscience, will always carry the Air of a *Protestatio contra Factum*, and look as much like Grimace as the Preamble to the Carolina Act in 1704, which gravely begins, *As nothing is more contrary to the Profession of the Christian Religion, and particularly to the Doctrine of the Church of England than Persecution for Conscience sake only, Nevertheless, &c.*

These Biss have robbed the Church of the Reputation of Moderation, and Consistency with the Principles of the Reformation. From the Time she leaves Reason and good Example, the proper Armour and Artillery of Truth ; for Severity and Hardship, the only Refuge of Error and Falshood ; Men will make Observations to the Prejudice of her Reputation and sinking her Character. She begins to have a forbidding Aspect, as soon as she shews any of the Airs of persecuting Fury.

Again, I will assert, that having shewn it to be for the Safety and Advantage of the State and the present Establishment, to have Dissenters unbound, it must be the same of
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Course to the Church. Can the Church be safe, when the State is in Danger? Can she stand when the Government, is subverted? Is there any other Human Defence, besides his Majesty and his Royal Successors, according to the Laws of Settlement? Hath not this been acknowledged by the Clergy, who have in this View humbly thrown themselves on his Majesty's Protection? And is not his Majesty more safe, the more Hands he hath to serve and defend him; and the Church also, since her Safety is so dependent upon his? Doth it not carry the Appearance of an Interest opposite to that of the State, when the Church and That have not the same common Friends? But in Truth, are not the Enemies of both the very same? Is not Her chief Danger from the Enemies of the State? Is not this what every Porter knows, and is able to demonstrate? Even they know it who have the Forehead to deny it. The Church of *England* is so well secured, by the Defence of the Laws, the Numbers and Quality, and Power of its Members, that it is impossible for any thing but her own Strength turned upon her self, or a foreign Invasion, to destroy her. The Dissenters have more than once used all their Power to save her from ruining her self; the encrease of their Power would therefore be an Improvement of her Strength: And of all Men they are the most avowed Enemies to foreign Jurisdiction or Invasion.

They will also hereby be a farther Strength to our Articles, for they generally believe more in them, than most of those who subscribe them. They wish no more Harm to the *Liturgy*, than to have it one of the most

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comprehensive Forms in the World, and the least Exceptionable. And as for those Dissenters who are against all Forms, they will for that Reason make no Competition for Places. And as for my Lords the Bishops, the Dissenters (who are more generally Catholick than once they were) are ready to acknowledge them what they are made by the Laws of the Land. And their legal Privileges and Honours being secured to them as Rewards for Overseeing the inferior Clergy, what they are, and what they do as a Christian Ministry, will move no Matter of Dispute.

And sure it is high Time to think seriously of some Balance to the *Jacobites* and their Disciples in the Establishment, who are the False Brethren in the properest Sense, and Enemies by Principle to both Church and State. If *Gyllembetz's* Computation be right, that these Rebels are Nine in Ten (and it seems himself was so thoroughly persuaded of it, as to say, *Let the Swedes but Land, and I will answer for the rest*) the Lord have Mercy on the Church of England: She must be over-run, and can, humanly speaking, be safe no other way but by opening the Doors, and letting in the Dissenters to her Assistance. They like the Established Church much better than the Non-jurors or High-Church and Popery. Nay, they love her for being a Bulwark against Popery, and for having allowed them the Liberty they now enjoy, which they can hardly hope High-Church, Nonjurors, or Papists would afford them. Upon these Accounts they will be ready to lend her their utmost Help against all the forementioned Parties, as heartily as they did against the Papists in the Reign of *K. James II.*

At that Time neither the former Severities

of

of the Church, nor the Wheelbarrow of the Court, could get them into the Measures concerning her Ruin. And indeed the most excellent and lovely Parts of Religion in which they agree with her, must more engage their Affection to her, than the lesser Things wherein they differ can provoke their Displeasure at any time, unless they are soured by Misusage. This Principle they still retain, notwithstanding the Hardships they have suffered, which were certainly contrived to weaken and destroy it, if possible.

And by this Principle they have generally acted: Nay the Threatnings of a Popish Court (such I may call that of Charles II. when it was so much under his Brother's Influence, and himself a disguised Papist) could make no Impressions upon them to the Prejudice of the Constitution, or Hurt of the Established Church: When a great Body of their Ministers, towards the Close of his Reign, had met together upon Desire of one who was often at Court, to receive some Proposals for coming into his Majesty's Measures; and these were laid down with all imaginable Art and Insinuation; they unanimously resolved rather to suffer by the Laws then in Force against the Papists, than to concur in the Way desired to their being dispensed with: When this was carried back to Court, the King, in great Wrath, protested, that *then they should suffer the utmost Severity of those Laws, for which they had such a Fondness, as to refuse the advantageous Offers he had made them.* And never after did they attempt Reparation or Revenge, nor could ever be brought into the Designs of destroying the Church, or hindred from giving her all the Assistance they were able. D Their

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✓ Note
Their Behaviour in K. James II'd's Time was so acceptable to my Lords the Bishops, that they made this one Reason of their Petition to his Majesty for a Free and Regular Parliament, that *Provision might be made for a due Liberty of Conscience*, as well as for the Security of the Church according to the Act of Uniformity. So little did they think this Security and that Liberty, were Things inconsistent.

Their Lordships had such an Opinion of the Behaviour of the Dissenters at that Time, that in an Account of the late Proposals made by the Archbishop, with some other Bishops, to his Majesty, in a Letter to M. B. Esq; the Author hath this Passage : *I do assure you, and I am certain I have the best Grounds in the World for my Assurance, that the Bishops will never stir one Foot from their Petition ; but they will, whenever that happy Opportunity offers it self, let the Dissenters find that they will be better than their Word, given in their famous Petition.* This happy Opportunity has been long expected. May not their Promise be now pleaded ? It was Personal indeed, but may not their Successors make it good ; and why should it not be expected from them, if the Reasons for it are still in Force ?

And is it not evident, that the same Reasons urge now as did then, and that with additional Strength ? We have not only Reason to unite against our common Enemies the Papists, but a New Party formed among ourselves against the Establishment, upon the Principles of the Catholick Church, as is pretended, tho' many of them were utterly unknown till the *Romish* Church began to assume that Title, and a corrupt Part set up for the Whole.

Whole. Are the Nonjurors and this Catholick Church of *England*, whose Style and Title is a little more Presumptuous than the *Roman Catholick*, no Enemies to the Establishment? When those of them who separate from it, charge it loudly and boldly with damnable Schism, nullify its Ministry, Worship and Sacraments; and those of them who comply with it, and yet admit or abet their Principles, are by them obliged to invalidate their own Ministry, and damn themselves as well as the true Members of the Establishment. Did Protestant Dissenters ever deal thus by them, I mean as a Body? And are Men of this Make to be let into all Offices, without any Danger to the Church? And must Dissenters, who think much more charitably of her, and treat her much more kindly, be still shut out? Would they afford her no Assistance against these Enemies, that are not only Numerous in her very Bowels, and among her pretended Sons; but are confederate with her sworn Enemies the Papists; or if not confederate will yet be surely help'd to compass their Design, by all the Assistance Papists can give them? Since they can easily form these Principles of the Catholick Church of *England* into *Roman Catholick*, especially if they could once get the Pretender into the Throne, for which many of them are directly calculated. Is it not Time for the true Friends of the Constitution to look about them, and consider on what ground they stand? Are they able of themselves to make Head against this dangerous Party, when it hath so great a Strength in both our Universities? And when such Numbers of the Clergy come out of these Se-

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minaries

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ministers possessed with those Principles, and make it so much their Pulpit Business, to infuse them into the Blind Multitude? Would not Dissenters heartily help against these Attempts? Is not their Assistance plainly Necessary? And yet must they still be kept out of Power, and rendered incapable to do the Church that Service for which they are so well disposed?

While the Acts continue against them, they keep many Real Friends of the Church as Protestants out of Power; but do they exclude one of its most avowed and dangerous Enemies? They let in Multitudes imbued with the Principles of the Nonjurors. All the High Church pretend to be her most Legitimate Offspring, though they fly in her Face, and Condemn her Constitution as little better than Antichristian; and make the Pope's Supremacy over the Church Universal a less Traitorous Usurpation, than a Protestant Prince's Supremacy over his own Subjects.

And as to Papists, if they have a Service to do for Mother Church, they have a way to swallow Oaths and Sacraments, not only without Scruple, but with Merit. They have abundance of Maxims to help them over such little Difficulties. Either the End consecrates the Means. Or the Nullity of the Orders and Ministrations in the Church of England, forbids all Consecrations of the Elements, and their wonderful Transformation; and then they remain as they were, and partaking of them is no more than eating a Bit

* Hill's Muncip. Eccle. Collect. of Papers by Dr. Hicks. P. 119.

*Dispensing
Power —
in kind as in
high with
note*

of common Bread; or taking a Sign of ordinary Wine. Or if the Scruples of a Popish Conscience require it, a Dispensation from the Pope or his Commissioners may be procured. In *Ireland*, not longer ago than the close of the last Reign, their Priests had Authority to absolve those who had taken Oaths; and other necessary Powers to do all the secret Mischiefs they could; as Catholics, under the Mask of the Church of *Ireland*.

Another Reason why I believe the Repeat of some of these Acts will be for the Service of the Church of *England*, is because they were thought by Papists and Nonjurors, and Abjurors in the Pretender's Interest, very proper Expedients to promote their Design; the Accomplishment of which would prove the Rain of the Church of *England* and the Protestant Interest. Those who were most Zealous in procuring them, or most rejoiced at them, are either actual Rebels to King *George*, or Fugitives, Traitors or suspected. Is not this what *Lesley* has been driving at from the Beginning of the late Reign, in his *Wolves Strip*, his *Cassandra's Remorsals*, &c. And is not this what echoed from him in *S. Paul's Sermon*? And hath *Lachewell's* been echoing from the whole Herd of Reluctant Abjurors ever since? And is not this Uniformity in their Measures a plain Evidence of Unity of Design? A Notorious Conspiracy of some, that without Doors damn the Church, and many within Doors that hate the Constitution though they live by her Altars, to prevent the Protestant Succession, introduce a Popish Pretender, destroy the Established Church, and make a New one

30 Of Removing the Incapacities

one that shall neither be Popish nor Protestant but *English Catholick*: That shall reduce Kings and Nobles into a State of Subjection to Bishops, their spiritual Sovereigns *Jure Divino*; and not only demand Homage from them, but raise Contributions within their Territories for the Maintenance of this spiritual Empire; and bring back all Things to the State of the Primitive Church; I mean in every thing that would serve their Purpose, without any Regard to Primitive Humility, Meekness, Poverty, Piety or Good-Manners. Their Conduct explains their Meaning fully enough; but Sir H — M — has put this Meaning into plain Words, when he makes the *Occasional Bill* a Reprisal on the Dissenters, for the *Association and Abjuration Acts* *.

And could that be for the Service of the Church of England, that was so grateful to all engag'd in this Conspiracy against her? And if it were intended to do her Mischief by tying up the Hands of those who would heartily assist her against such Conspirators, is it not evident to a Demonstration, that the loosning these Bonds would be for her Service?

Nay, would not this bring all true Protestants among us to a nearer Agreement and a stricter Union, when they would grow into closer Acquaintance, and manifestly help forward the same Designs? An Union not merely in little Forms and Opinions, which are Trifles in Comparison of the Religion lost about them; but in the great Substantials of

* *Collect. of Papers by Dr. Hicks, p. 109, 109.*

Religion? An Agreement in Temper, mutual Forbearance, and a Constitution as comprehensive as the Gospel it is founded upon? This is the Command of Christ, the present Disposition of the best and most valuable Body of Dissenters, and may in Time be of all the rest. It is the Desire of the best of Men, as it is the Aversion and Dread of the worst.

But may not the Removal of these Burdens from Dissenters, give Uneasiness to some real Friends of the Government, who are fearful of the Church? and an Handle to its Enemies to practise upon them, and improve their Uneasiness, and to confirm and heighten the Enmity of the rest?

As to what concerns the real Friends of the Government, it will quickly be made evident to them, that their Jealousies are Groundless, and that these Measures are the most proper that can be taken to preserve her: And their Regard to their Sovereign, and Deference for his Wisdom and the Authority of Parliament, will dispose them to wait till the Matter be cleared up, if the Legislature think fit to take off the Dissenters Incapacities.

And as to Enemies of the Government, no question is to be made but it will give them Uneasiness; and that they will improve it as much to the Disadvantage of the Government as they can. But will the continuing Dissenters under Incapacities cure their Rancour, or abate their Ill-will to the Government? Do they not use their utmost Endeavours now to prejudice as many as they can against it? Can they discover greater Opposition than they have already done, without breaking out into another open Rebellion? And

are

are they not encouraged to act this Part, by the manifest Odds they have, as they think, against Low-Church, whilst the Dissenters are out of all Capacity to add their Weight to that Party, by being shut out of all Parts of Power and Authority in their Country? Whereas, were this Capacity restored, they and the Low-Church might act for the Service of the Government as one Body, with united Strength, and so more effectually check their Malice, and restrain them from doing that Mischief their Hearts are set upon. This no doubt would add to their Uneasiness, but 'tis a sure Sign that the Government would be served by it. And must it out of Complaisance to Enemies that are not to be conyined nor obliged, overlook its Friends and want their Services, the utmost Services they can do it? Is this either politick, or just, or generous? If it be, it is only towards Enemies, who must be gratified yet much farther, if you would have them made easy. You must let them have a new Parliament, a new Ministry, a defenceless Throne, and a naked Island, and then they will plainly tell you what will make them easy — That is to say, a *New Church* and a *New King*.

F I N I S



T H E
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. N U M B. V.

O F

Political Friendship.

Ευχὴ Ἀθηναίων, ὕσον, ὕσον, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ καὶ τῆς ἀν-
ρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ ὅτ' πεδίων, ἥτοι ὃ δὲ εὐχεσθαι ἢ
ἐτὼς ἀπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως.

Marc. Anton. Lib iv. §. 7.

*The Athenians us'd to be mighty clamorous to Jupiter
for Rain upon their own Lands, but not a Word for
other People. Now to my Mind, they had e'en bet-
ter have held their Tongues, or else pray'd with more
of Extent and Generosity.*

Collier's Ant.

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O F

Political Friendship.



THE Necessities and Inclinations of Human Nature, render it apt for *Society*. The strongest Bond of Society is mutual *Love*, especially that which is Generous, the Offspring of Good-will to others, and not the meer Result of Regard to our selves. Where this Spirit is diffused thro' all the Members of any larger Community, it renders their Union firm in any Common Danger, and employs every Hand for the Common Interest. What generally disturbs and divides any Body of People, is the Clash of Interests : Private Views are pursu'd with a Neglect of the Common Welfare; single Men or Parties of Men, have an Interest of their own to promote, which can't be reconcil'd with the publick

4 Of POLITICAL FRIENDSHIP.

Safety and Interest. And yet it would be manifestly to the Prejudice of a Community in general, if there were no such Thing as private Interest, or in other Words, *Property*. All Men are not equally turned for Business, and 'tis no way equitable, that the *Lazy* or *Lavish* should live upon the Industry and Diligence of others. If the Possessions of a Community were to lie common, they would quickly lie waste. The Diligent would slack their Hands; the Parsimonious grow prodigal; the *common Stock* thus neglected on the one Hand, and expended on the other, would soon be consumed and reduced to nothing.

Property is therefore a great Convenience to Society, and some Degree of *Selfishness* of vast Use to enlarge Property: And there is all the Reason in the World, that Society should give its Assistance to secure that, from whence it is itself to receive so great Advantage. A just Regard to Property or private Interest, whether it be of single Persons, or lesser Communities, is of vast Use to those which are larger; and those on the other Hand should give all Encouragement to Industry, and Security to Mens proper Rights, whenever it can be done without Hurt to the whole Body. Some View and Expectation of this Kind, 'tis very probable, first drew Men into Political Combinations, and made them mix private Interests into a common One, as far as could be without destroying Property. At least this is the manifest Intention both in Nature and by Divine Appointment

Of POLITICAL FRIENDSHIP. §

pointment (and those never cross or contradict each other) of all Political Agreements. It was to secure Property and not to destroy it, or swallow it up, except in such Cases wherein the manifest Interest of the Whole requires the Property of single Persons should be given up. And whoever enters into any Body Politick, is always understood to do it with an express or implied Demand of this Condition for himself.

In all Communities there is a Political Friendship, or ought to be, between the Body and all the particular Members. The Body is concern'd to look to the Safety and Security of its Members, and every Member to shew a due Concern for the Welfare and Security of the Community ; and without this mutual Concern there is a Breach upon the Laws of Friendship, and the Bonds of Union would be dissolved.

This is Political Friendship in the more famous Sense : But as Mankind are diffused thro' the whole Earth; and various Incidents have actually divided them into a Multitude of Empires, Kingdoms, and Commonwealths ; it becomes impossible they should combine in one Community, or subsist without mutual Help : This makes way for Political Friendship in another Notion, *i. e.* *Leagues of Friendship* and mutual *Alliances* between Sovereign and Independent States. A Concern for each others Welfare and Security draws them into mutual Engagements, and disposes to afford proper Succours in all the Instances stipulated. And tho' their particular

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particular Interests may in many Respects interfere ; this is no way inconsistent with an hearty Friendship in all the Cases in which they have a Common Interest: Nay, in particular States there may be various Parties divided from each other, by peculiar Interests and Opinions, (which in Religious Matters is very commonly wrought up to a Principal Interest) who yet may have a sincere Kindness for the Publick, and readily enter into mutual Bonds for the Common Good.

Whenever such Engagements are made, there is a Profession of Political Friendship ; and where they are made good, there it is in Reality. Nor is it necessary that private Interest, or private Opinion, should on either Side be renounc'd, when we enter into such Engagements : Combination into Society is not for the Destruction of Property, but the Preservation of it ; excepting only where the giving up a Part is plainly necessary to support and preserve the Whole. In this Case Political Friendship will as much more oblige a Man to deny a particular Humour, or Personal Interest, than a Private Friendship ; as the Publick Good is in itself more valuable, and more to be preferred, than that of any single Person in all the World. But I cannot see why a Man has not as true a Property in the Thoughts of his Mind, and open Profession, and correspondent Practice, as he has in his outward Possessions ; and equal Liberty to use them within the same Restriction, *i. e.* without Injury to the Publick.

And

Of POLITICAL FRIENDSHIP 7

And there is this plain Instance of Disparity peculiar to this Kind of Property ; that nothing is so much a Man's *Own*, or so little affects the Interest of *other Men*.

When mutual Engagements are once made with a Reserve of private Opinions and Interests ; to break in upon reserved Property, or fail to make these Engagements good, is a Breach of Political Friendship. To ask Service and Assistance on one Side ; and promise it on the other, is actual Compact : And Failure on either Side, where the Professer is accepted, is a Violation of the League of Friendship, which is directly intended for mutual Help, Security and Comfort.

There is another Sence of Political Friendship, tho' 'tis by a very hard Figure it bears the Name. *Policy* has either an Honourable, or an Infamous Signification. It stands for *Prudence*, or an honest Skill in managing Affairs : or else for wicked *Craft* and *Tricking*, when a Man by a Shew and Appearance of Friendship and Regard to private Persons or the publick Good, intends only to serve Himself at the Expence of Both. The *Guise* of Friendship must be put on, perhaps of more than common Friendship ; great Professions of Sincerity made ; many Offers and Promises of Favour : But all this in reality is only a Bait to catch the Unwary, or a Cover to other Designs. The Politician, in the mean time, sincerely means Himself, and makes this fair Shew, and those solemn Promises, to draw in others to serve his Interests, and drop them at last.

This

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This if it enter the first Intention, is horrid Treachery: Or if the Intentions were honest and real at the time of the Compact, but unforeseen Difficulties rising up have altered their first Designs, and they have not Firmness enough to stand their Ground against a sudden Assault or a violent Shock; if they are not treacherous, they are *false Friends*, and unworthy of any farther Confidence and Trust.

It appears by this Account of Things, that Political Friendship requires a Largeness and Generosity of Mind, because of the Differences of Sentiments and Interests which must be allowed for on each Side: Sincerity and Readiness of Conduct against every artful Insinuation or open Attempt to undermine and overthrow it: A Freedom from Suspicions upon every slight Appearance; and a Readiness to rely upon each other's Declarations and Assurances: With a constant Disposition to return all Expressions of Kindness and Respect.

Whether it is not There is an Account in the History of
whether it is not England, of a very great Flood which hap-
pened in the Country, and did a deal of
of England in Mischief; swept away abundance of Hay
and Corn, overthrew several Dwelling Houses,
drowned a great many People and Cattle, and
rose to that Height, that it seemed to threaten every Thing. In this Common Extremity, a great Number of Beasts of all Sorts were got together upon rising Ground, as a Common Refuge: Dogs, Cats, Hares, Hounds, Oxen, Cocks, Hens, and all stood

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as quietly as if they had forgot their Natural Antipathy, or a Sence of Common Danger had entirely suspended it. Why should not Common Danger and Interest have a like Effect upon Rational Creatures; and Men be as Wise as Beasts? He who sends the *Sluggard to the Ant* to learn Diligence and Forecast; He who sends the Ungrateful to the *Ox who knows his Owner*, and the *Ass who knows his Master's Crib*, does by such a Providence send us to the Beasts of greatest Difference and Contrariety of Nature, to learn the Reasonableness of Political Friendship, and to give up private Interests and Resentments to a publick Good.

The Grandure of the *Grecian* and *Roman* Empires owed their first Being, vast Extent and long Continuance, to the Harmony and Union of the severall Parts, and a steady Regard to a Common Interest, under all their Diversities in other Respects: And they never were broken till they became discontented among themselves, and went into different Factions, and were governed by private Views: as among the *Grecians* at the Death of *Alexander the Great*; and among the *Romans*, in the famous Quarrel between the *Tribunes* and the *Senate*.

The ancient *Romans* used to call the Friends of their Emperors *Participes Curarum*, Sharers in the publick Cares: and tho' the fond Management of weak Princes has made it become no very great Advantage either to the Prince or his Friends, to be called *Favourites*; yet when it has been rightly managed, the People

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ple have been so far from growing Uneasy, or thinking themselves Sufferers, that they have expressed the highest Satisfaction in it. The *Roman* Senate appointed an Altar to be dedicated to Friendship as a *Goddeſs*, in respect to the *Onenefs* there seemed to be between *Tiberius* and *Sejanus*; which might have been due to their Friendship, had their Characters better deserved it.

If we look into latter Times, the Instance of the *Switz. Cantons* is the most Remarkable. They consist of a great many lesser Independent States, and are of different Religions, not at all friendly to one another; and yet are so united in one Political Friendship, that no Body can attack the least of them, without drawing upon himself the whole *Helvetick* Body. Indeed the Bigot of *St. Gall* lately found Means to make some of the *Cantons* forget their Common Interest; but it has been so much to their Common Smart, that 'tis to be hoped, they will more strictly observe the Rules of their Political Friendship for the Time to come.

Pop^e *Innocent* the Eleventh, the *Prince* of *Orange*, and the *States* of *Holland*, the *Church* of *England*, and *Protestant Dissenters*, all concurred in promoting the Revolution: And several Popish and Protestant Powers united in the Grand Alliance, and made a firm and consistent Body for many Years together. It was the only Rising Ground left, whereby to avoid the overflowing Deluge of Universal French Monarchy. Since that time has been an unceasing Deluge of Universal French Monarchy. The

1789
French got
to be given
next there of

in 1789

Of POLITICAL FRIENDSHIP. 11

The unequalled Example of Personal Political Friendship in the present Age, is that of Prince *Eugene* and the Duke of *Marlborough*; both Persons of Spirit and Fortune; the Favourites and Confidants of their Prince, advanced to the highest Dignities and chief Command; of different Religions; in the Course of a long and various War, yet living in a perfect Friendship, and always acting in Concert: never once clashing in their Interests, or jarring in their Pretensions, or led by any Incident to the least Jealousy or Indifference; and with no other Emulation than of having the highest Esteem and doing the greatest Honour to one another.

I have often wonder'd there is so little Political Friendship in the World, when the common Sense of Mankind must needs have found it out, especially led on to it so directly by Religion: An hearty Friendship in the essential Regards of social Life, and the Things which concern the Welfare of the Community, would put it out of the Power of smaller Differences to destroy the good Will and good Understanding which would naturally arise from a joint Consent in one Common Interest, if some Men did not use Arts and take Pains to prevent the Peace and Quiet of the World. The old Duke of *Buckingham* has observ'd, *That some Opinions are made use of to set the World at Odds, and by the Friends they maintain, enrich those, who in a charitable and peaceful World, must have starved.* There are some Opinions I could name are good for nothing else; and some Persons too,

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whom I need not name, who have owed all their Advancement to the Operation of such Opinions. They would have starved, or what is next to it, have been only in such a Condition as was agreeable to the Merit of their Talents, in a peaceful and charitable World. They seem to be sensible of this, and therefore promote those Opinions and Practices which have only a Tendency to destroy Peace and Charity ; because where these prevail, there is nothing to be got but by Merit.

which
There are two Things, generally cement and unite Men of different Persuasions, and indeed ought always to do so: An Apprehension of Common Danger, and a Sense of Common Benefit. An Apprehension of Common Danger, is one great Foundation of Political Friendship, and Preservative of the State : For it awakens a general Concern, and unites the whole Force for the Common Safety ; and it can never be ruined but by a Power Superiour to the Whole. *Horace* * compares the Common-Wealth to a Ship all torn and rent by a late Storm ; and under that Allegory dissuades from Launching again into a new War ; and advises to give itself up to *Cæsar's* Rule, and sit quietly under his Government. Besides the seasonable Hint this carries in it to some, I would make this farther Improvement of it to others : The Common-Wealth is a Ship ; the Crew

* *Ode 14. Lib. 1.*

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are not all of a Mind ; but differ as much as People do in a State ; *As many Men so many Minds* : But let a Privateer appear, or Storm arise, and you'll quickly see all Hands aloft ; the trifling Particularities are all forgot, and every Man exerts himself, as if he were Member of some Common Body, and animated by a Common Soul.

But when Men are intent upon *Party*, abstracted from the *Community*, they become like the *Jews* at the Destruction of *Jerusalem* ; every one had a Zeal for the Faction in which he was engaged, and ready to venture his Life to support it against another ; not considering that by this Means the *Romans* had nothing left to do, but to stand by and see them devour one another. And I pray God, says Bishop *Stillingfleet* in one of his Sermons, “ That may never be said of another Sort
“ of *Romans* concerning this Church of ours.
“ We can't but be sensible how much they
“ are pleased with our Divisions, and that
“ they have always Hay and Stubble enough,
“ not only to build with, as they do, but
“ whereby to add Fuel to our Flames.
“ How happy should we be if we could once
“ lay aside all Party Animosities, and all
“ mind the true Interest of our Church, and
“ the Security of the Protestant Religion by
“ it, which ought to be dearer to us than
“ our Lives. But that is our Misery, that
“ our Divisions in Religion have made us
“ not more contemptible than ridiculous to
“ Foreign Nations; and it puzzles the Wisest
“ among our selves to find out Expedients
“ to

14. Of POLITICAL FRIENDSHIP.

“ to keep us from Ruining one of the best
“ Churches in the Christian World.

The Emissaries of the Church of Rome have driven a long and successful Trade among us in starting new Opinions, and setting up new Sects, and crumbling us into as many Subdivisions as they could; partly to cast a Slur upon the Glory of Liberty and Toleration, which her Tyranny will not allow; but chiefly because they have found we have been so silly, that every Difference is made a Division; and every Division a fresh Spring of Enmity, and a great Weakening of the Protestant Interest: But how all this Labour would be in vain, if we could become wise enough to admit this Political Friendship, and establish this Maxim as Sacred, (and indeed 'tis as Sacred as any other that can be named, either in Politicks or Religion) *That Difference shall not divide, or create Enmity; but so much the rather unite us against the Common Enemy as we find we need the Liberty of Differing, which their Tyranny will not allow.* 'Tis all Grimace to bewail the Animosities of Parties and the ill Effects of Difference among People of the same Religion, if 'tis with a Design to insinuate, that the only Cure of such a Disease is to reduce all Men to the same Opinions and Forms: That Intention is itself an Instance of the Faction and Animosity it laments, as it is the main Cause of its mischievous Effects. No, no, Let every one's Right to his Opinion and Religion, as far as stands with the publick Peace, be as Sacred as Honour, Truth, and
Con-

OF POLITICAL FRIENDSHIP. 15

Conscience : Let Him be the *Schismatick*, the *Faction*, the *Heretick*, who shall give up this Right himself, or offer to impose upon it in others ; and let Political Friendship in all Offices take Place among those who agree in a Common Good, whatsoever they differ in beside.

By this Means the Common Offices of mutual Friendship and good Neighbourhood, would be preserved, which we have seen of late so often violated ; as if *Courteousness to all Men*, Gentleness, Peace, Benevolence were no Parts of our Religion or Politicks.

It would add to the Strength and Power of a Nation, render it considerable to its Friends and Allies, and formidable to its Enemies ; when it becomes a known Maxim, that however they differ in other Matters, they understand their Common Interest, and will heartily unite against a Common Enemy. There is all the same Advantage in Political Friendship, whether with different States, or different Parties in the same State ; as there is in private Life, from Common Friendship. The publick Understanding, if I may be allowed to speak so, is happily guided and informed ; where 'tis right, it will be strengthened and supported ; where 'tis mistaken, it will be rectify'd and set to rights. The publick Councils are much more safe, where there is a *Multitude of Counsellors*, and more comprehensively Beneficial. The publick Cares are lessened and sit lighter, by Communicating, and taking others to share in them. The publick Joys and Triumphs
are

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are sensibly increased, by being diffused : And all the publick Proceedings and Administrations become more easy and successful. A Kingdom or State, for Instance, may be at a Loss in Treating with an *Enemy*; perhaps 'tis necessary to be upon Terms with them, and nearly affects some considerable Interest : But now another Court or Government which is not bound to such Terms, may interpose with Advantage, and take those Steps to expedite an Affair, which would not be proper in themselves, or like to be accepted and effectual. So in Treating with an *Allie*, those Things may be gracefully offered and proposed in many Cases by another, which would not become the Prince himself who is concerned to obtain them. And 'tis a peculiar Advantage in Political Friendship, that if Death happens in one or two Instances of Leading Persons, before a wise and considerable Scheme which has been concerted can be accomplished ; there are others left in the same Measures and Design, to pursue and finish it.

It would discourage Plots and secret Conspiracies : A Union in one Political Bond ; which allows for any particular Differences, consistent with the Constitution and publick Peace ; would hardly leave a Disposition to Plot, or any popular Temptation to it. When every peaceable Subject enjoys his native Liberty and proper Rights, what Pretence has any Man left to be uneasy ? And it would be the greatest Discouragement against any Attempt of that Kind, when
the

Of POLITICAL FRIENDSHIP. 17

the Attack is known to be made upon a Body united in Political Friendship: Their other Differences in such a Case, would do no more Harm, than Variety of Faces, Statures, and Airs, among the Soldiers of the same Army: The Enemy is sure to find them a united Body, and of one Mind, for all those Differences.

If the Court were a Soil where this Excellent Plant could thrive, the King's Service, which we are so happy as to be able to say, is entirely the same with the Nation's, would never suffer thro' Competitions, Jealousies, and jarring Pretensions of Courtiers; since in *hoc Tertio*, they would all meet as Friends. Hearty Friends of the King and Constitution, must be so far Friends to one another; ready to assist Themselves, and heartily disposed to rejoice in all the publick Good which is done by Others, let it be by whom it will.

There is the same Reason for steady Adherence to the Ties of Political Friendship, as there is to be true to any other Society Men enter into; that they may be sure of the united Skill of the Body for their Direction and Benefit, and the united Force of it for their Defence. 'Tis plainly with a Prospect of mutual Advantage such Friendship is founded; and by being false to it, all those Advantages which were intended by it, or could possibly be obtained, are lost at once. The Matter is very clear in the Case of Alliance with Foreign Nations: A strict Regard to the Forms on which such Leagues
C are

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are founded; and a friendly Concern for the Interests of People with whom we are thus confederated, even in Affairs not expressly mentioned; is absolutely necessary: and a perfidious Violation, or Coolness and Unconcern about the Interests of such Political Friends, cannot but be of dangerous Consequence. The great Success of the *Grand Alliance* in all its several Seats, was chiefly owing to the Friendship I have describ'd; A common and very formidable Enemy was awed, humbled, and almost subdued: But when this came to cease, it was no wonder the whole Face of Affairs was every where presently altered: They who could no longer be Faithful to each other, or Depend on one another, were all, one after another, tricked; injured and oppress'd. Nor were the Advantages of Political Friendship more Conspicuous in the Conduct and Success of the Peerless *Mariborough* and *Eugene*, than the Danger of proving false to it was in the fatal Consequence of the Political Perfidy of the attainted Duke of *Ormond*.

The Parties aggrieved by this Falshood will hardly ever be perswaded to place any Confidence in the warmest Professions afterwards: To be once deceived is enough. And all other wise Nations and Parties and Persons will learn Wisdom at their Expence, and hardly lay much stress on a Friendship so precarious and ensnaring *. And if after

* *Nemo enim his se facile adjungit quibus Jus, Jus, sedem villa putat.* Grot. de Ju. Bel. & Pa.

such

Of POLITICAL FRIENDSHIP. 19

such discouraging Fickleness any should, by the Necessity of their Affairs, be driven to profess Friendship again, there will be endless Jealousies and Distrusts, which make the Friendship unpleasant while it continues, and will be like to end in an open Rupture at last. This was plainly the Case with the Earl of O—— and the *Tories*; they received him, and used him, but they ever mistrusted him; and thought it necessary to get rid of him at last. Nor is it the least Mischief in this Case, which often happens between private Friends when they fall out, every Secret committed to them in Confidence is immediately divulged, by way of Revenge for betraying their Trust. Indeed whatsoever unhappy Consequences should deter from Falshood in Common Friendship, hold good with greater Advantage for Faithfulness and Steadiness in this.

'Tis not easy to say whether the Danger of violating Political Friendship, or the Mischief of a false Pretence to it, is the greater Evil. 'Tis certain the more Valuable and Useful any Thing is, the more dangerous is the Counterfeit. A Man puts on the Appearance of a Generous Friendship, meerly to serve some politick Ends of his own, which is nothing else but the Hypocritical Aping of that useful and vertuous Union of Persons and Parties I am speaking of: When, for Instance, in a time of Common Danger, mutual Sympathy and Concern is professed on all Sides; every one seems to have at Heart his Neighbours Grievances, as well as

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his Own ; and united Endeavours are seemingly directed to the Removal of All as a Common End : But a Prince has a fair Opportunity to make a separate Peace, and leaves all his Allies in the Lurch ; or a private Man finds a way to make his own Fortune, and then shews by the neglect of his Associates in Danger, that he meant nothing but Himself, by all his Pretence to a publick Good : An ejected Courtier shall carefs and compassionate *Joseph*, when both lie under Disgrace ; but if he comes to sit warm in his Place again, *Joseph* may still wear his Fetters for him without any kind Remembrance and Regard : at least till a fresh Difficulty bring him to Mind, and revive some Tenderness and Concern.

Every Body is ready to declaim against this Conduct as base and unworthy in other People, and yet there is not a more Common Practice in the World. Certainly nothing can be more Disingenuous : 'Tis altogether wearing a Mask, and giving a false Representation of a Man's self. He puts himself upon the World for a *Patriot*, and a Man of generous Designs, when in Truth, he is vilely Mercenary, and has no Taste of Social Vertue. He treats his Neighbour upon very unfair and unequal Terms : Honest Men are drawn in to serve his private and particular Purposes, when a common Interest was pretended on both Sides, and sincerely meant on One. Men of the most honest Intentions, are the most liable to be hurt by this Conduct, for they are put off their Guard by a specious

ous Pretence, and have the less Capacity for Self-defence. The Fairness of the Colour they wear makes the Hypocrisy the more Abominable and Pernicious. If a Man wears the Mask of Religion to enable him with the greater Success to impose upon others, his Hypocrisy for that Reason, carries in it both the more Baseness, and the more Danger. The next best thing in the World to Religion, is being a Patriot, and Well-wisher to Mankind; and if a Man makes use of this as a Cloak, to serve himself, and accomplish ungenerous Ends of his own; he must be the more detested by every honest Man, when the Mask drops of and his true Designs appear; and in the mean time is capable of the more dangerous and spreading Mischief. The Friendship he pretends, enables him, like *Judas*, with the greater Ease to betray his Master or his Friend.

This which has been complained of in all Ages, is grown so common in ours, that nothing has gone farther to weaken the Bonds of Society, which is necessarily founded upon the Apprehension of a general and common Interest. It should indeed be resented by every Body. Not only by those who are immediately the Dupes of those designing Knaves; but by every Man of upright Intentions. If He had come in their Way, he would have met with no better Usage. And besides that, it injures him in another Kind: Those who have found themselves imposed upon already by fair Pretensions, cannot help entertaining a Jealousy of others for the
Fu-

22 *Of POLITICAL FRIENDSHIP.*

Future, who may in Truth have an honest Meaning; and so they lose the Confidence which they have a Right to, because of the treacherous Abuse which those Men have made of their Trust.

And here I cannot but reflect with a generous Concern upon the unfriendly Temper among the different Parties which has prevailed among us; and which is as impolitick as 'tis irreligious; and a just Reason both of Reproach and Complaint. Instead of Largeness and Generosity of Mind, allowing for lesser Differences, there has been a stingy Narrowness and selfish Spirit; each one's Peculiarities have been magnified and strained, and loaded with a disproportionate Weight. Instead of Sincerity and steadiness of Conduct, Men have been told one thing at one time, and quite the contrary at another, and have found out a Conduct as variable as the Wind of popular Favour, or Tide of Court-Preferment. Instead of Freedom from Suspicions, and relying upon honest and repeated Assurances; there have been innumerable Suggestions of Danger and ill Designs, without any one Allegation ever made good. Instead of a Disposition to return Expressions of Kindness, some Men have endeavoured to lessen the most Signal Service, and throw a general Contempt upon others; yea, we have seen People used with Violence, and made the Mark of popular Rage, who have been always hearty in their Country's Interest, and sometimes found necessary for the Support of the Whole.

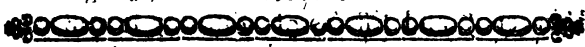
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Of POLITICAL FRIENDSHIP 23

And 'tis easy to foretel, by the natural Tendency and Effects of Things; it can never be happy with us, till the several Parties grow so wise to drop private Quarrels and Party-Interest; and joyn together in a hearty Zeal for the Common Good, in which they all agree, and which is both more considerable and of greater Consequence to each, than the Peculiarities on either Side about which they differ.

FRIENDSHIP





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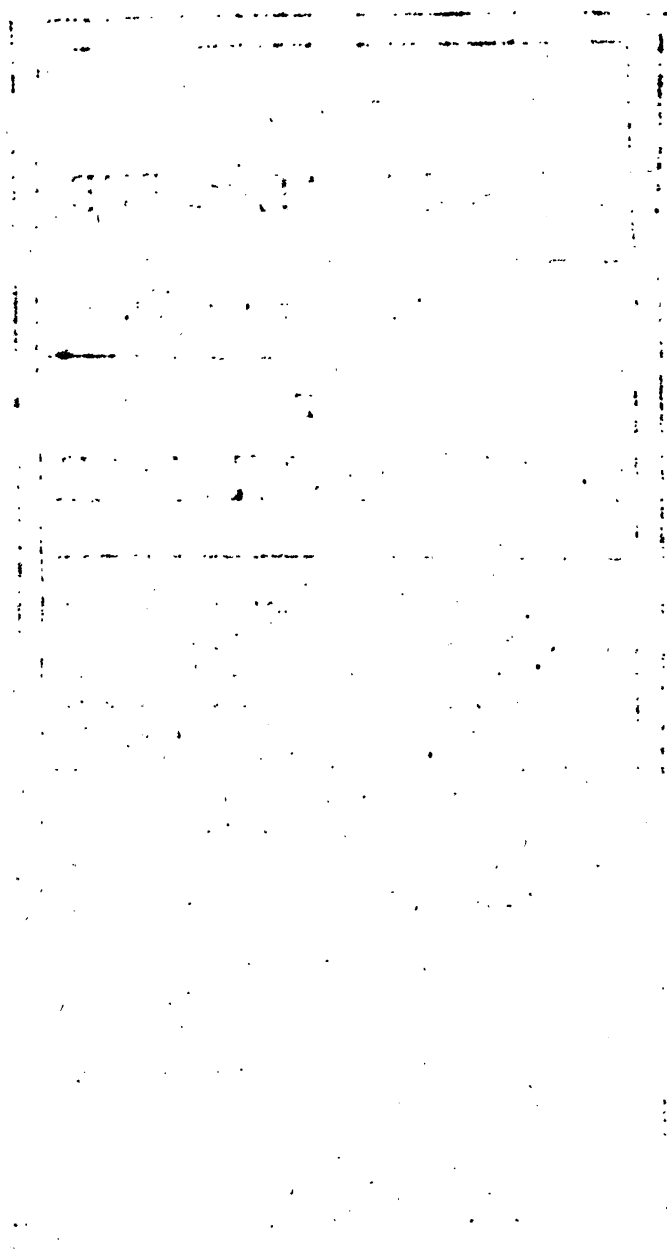
O F
ACTS of GRACE.

Ergo humanitatis dulcedo etiam in efferata barbarorum Ingenia penetrat, torvosque & truces hostium mollit oculos, ac Victoria insolentissimos Spiritus flectit. Nec illi difficile & arduum est, inter arma contraria, inter distractos cominus mucrones placidum iter reperire. Vincit iram, prosternt odium, hostilemque sanguinem hostilibus Lachrymis miscet. Valer. Max. Lib. v. cap. i.

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O F

ACTS of GRACE.



ACTS of Grace or General Pardons are always understood to have their Rise from Royal Favour, in whatever Form they pass for the Benefit of the Subject. In former Times they were commonly granted by the Crown alone as a Branch of the Prerogative. And there are modern Instances of the same Nature ; as that issued by King *James II.* about a Month before the Prince of *Orange's* Landing. Since the Custom has prevailed to have the Concurrence of the three Parts of the Legislature in them ; it has either been recommended from the Throne to the Wisdom of the Parliament to frame them ; or the Draught has been sent down by the King to the Houses, and (in a way different from all other Acts of Parliament,) room only left for their Negative.

4 Of ACTS of GRACE.

We have many Instances in our History of all the Forms. I'll look back no farther than the Restoration. King *Charles II.* before his Arrival in *England*, in his Declaration from *Breda*, *April 14. 1660.* promised to "grant a free and general Pardon under the Great Seal to all his Subjects of what Degree or Quality soever, who should lay hold of that Grace and Favour within forty Days after the publishing of it, and by any Publick Act declare their doing so, and return to the Loyalty and Obedience of good Subjects : And that no Crime whatsoever should be brought in Question against their Lives, Liberty, or Estates ; and, as far as lay in his Power, to the Prejudice of their Reputations, by any Reproach or Terms of Distinction : Requiring, that all Notes of Discord, Separation, and Difference of Parties, should be utterly abolish'd among all his Subjects ; and conjuring them to a perfect Union among themselves". Besides this, upon his coming over, he left it to the House of Commons to frame an Act of General Pardon, which he passed *August 29.*

After the Revolution, King *William* recommended it to the House of Lords, *March 28. 1689.* to prepare such a Bill. But it had no Effect in that Method, till one was sent down from the Crown, and passed in *May, 1690.*

The last we have had was that of *Queen Anne* in the Year *1709.* which was sent down to the Lords, and from them to the Commons, and then had the Royal Assent.

Tho'

Tho' it has ben justly esteemed true Policy not to make such Favour to Criminals too frequent; yet to grant Indemnities upon proper Occasions has been deservedly reckoned the Wisdom and the Glory of the best Administrations.

Sometimes they have been evidently owing to the Goodness of a Prince's Disposition and the Kindness of his Temper. Mercy to the Miserable, Pity to People in Distress, and a generous Desire of doing Good, and of making all Persons easy and happy as far as they can, is a Human Disposition. This may sometimes touch the Breasts of Princes as well as others; and they may become Fathers of their Country by the Generosity of their Mind, and Universal Good-will to Mankind. As on the contrary, an unrelenting Severity is often owing to a Cruelty of Temper; as *Seneca* * observed, to one of the most remarkable Instances of that in all the *Roman* Empire, "Cruelty is unworthy of Human Nature. To delight in Blood and Wounds, is to lay aside the Man, and become a Savage Creature". To this Principle of a kind and good Disposition, owing either to Temper or Philosophy, the *Roman* Historians ascribe the Clemency eminent in many Actions of *Augustus*, *Titus*, and the two *Antonines*.

Such Favour to Offenders frequently proceeds from a certain Greatness of Soul; fearless and secure against the Attempts of turbulent and seditious Spirits. Cruelty and extream Seve-

* *De Clementia ad Neron*. l. 1. c. 24.

rity upon all Occasions, is justly esteem'd the Mark of a pusillanimous and timorous Spirit. As the same Philosopher * observes, " 'Tis the Property of a great Mind to be ever easy and compos'd, and to despise Injuries and Provocations: 'Tis effeminate to be outrageous in Resentment." Such was the great Heart of *Julius Caesar*, that in the very Battle of *Pharsalia* he gave Orders to spare the Citizens; and as *Suetonius* † observes of him, " He discover'd an admirable Moderation and Clemency, both in the Prosecution of the Civil War and the Management of the Victory.

But besides these Inducements from the good Qualities of Princes themselves, they are often determin'd to such Acts of Grace from the wise Ends of Government. For a merciful Administration usually gains a general Respect and Love: It secures especially the zealous Affection of the best Men, of such as are Kind and Human themselves, and delight in the Peace and Happiness of their Neighbours and their Country. No one Vertue carries a Prince's Reputation higher than Clemency; and no Reputation contributes more either to his Security or his Glory. All look upon such a Prince as a Common Good. They have reason to expect from him all the Blessings of a mild Government: To be easy and content themselves, faithful to his Service, and zealous in their Duty: When they see him merciful even to the Criminal, and gracious to such as have been his own Enemies; and that he has a greater regard to the Publick Peace

* *Ibid.* c. 5. † *Sueton* in *Jul. Caf.*

and Welfare, than to any private Passion or Resentment of his own. *Seneca* admirably expresses the Sentiment of a good Subject in such a Case. * "He views his Prince with a Respect and Veneration, as if the immortal Gods condescended to make Themselves visible. Certainly he comes nearest to Them, who behaves himself with a Similitude of Temper, in Beneficence and Generosity. 'Tis becoming to aspire at the Imitation of Them: So to appear Great, as at the same Time to be esteem'd most Good."

It may also be consider'd, that such Clemency in a Prince, prevents the Uneasiness and Dissatisfaction, which many Persons feel upon numerous and frequent Examples of Justice; tho' they are ever so reasonable in themselves, or ever so well deserv'd by the Sufferers. As there is a Natural Pity in most Men, this is easily mov'd at the Sight of capital Punishments, without considering the justifiable, or it may be necessary Causes of them. How sensibly touch'd are the Spectators at our common Executions, even tho' they know at the same Time, that the Sufferers are notorious Offenders, unfit to live for the Peace of Mankind, and most fit to be cut off as the Monuments of Publick Justice? And it may not be below the Care of a Government to see, that frequent Compassions for suffering Criminals do not degenerate (tho' never so unjustly) into a Suspicion of Cruelty in the Government it self.

There may be Hopes sometimes of gaining over the Offenders themselves: and a well-

* *Sen. de Clem.* l. 1. c. 19.

plac'd Clemency may make a fast Friend of a fierce Enemy. Without doubt it is a noble and useful Policy, where there is a Prospect of succeeding, to destroy the Traytor by saving the Man, and to gain a Friend instead of ridding your self of an Enemy. The Degeneracy of the World indeed makes this Event very doubtful ; yet there are some Instances of a good Effect, to encourage new Experiments. *Augustus* was hardly more illustrious in the generous Part to *Cinna*, than *Cinna* was in the grateful to him *.
 “ *Cinna*, (says *Augustus* to him) I give you
 “ your Life : From this Day forward, let a
 “ Friendship commence between us ; and our
 “ only Contention be, whether I shew more
 “ Honour in granting your Life, or you in
 “ deserving it by your future Actions. *Augustus* found him (says my Author) well-affected and faithful ever after, and was his
 “ only Heir, and disturb'd with no farther
 “ Attempts from him.”

But if the Favour should be lost upon a base and ungrateful Mind, it will at least have one good Effect ; it will justify a future necessary Severity, where it has been receiv'd and is abus'd. All must be convinc'd, that to spare such whom no Acts of Clemency can reclaim, is not Clemency, but Weakness : That when a Prince has already perform'd the Part which Goodness calls for, and it is found in Experience ineffectual, he is then oblig'd to use the only remaining Method of Peace and Safety to himself and the Community ; that is, to

* *Ibid.* c. 9.

cut off by the Sword of Justice such as Acts of Mercy cannot reduce to their Duty.

Upon such Views as these, wise and good Governors see meet, at proper Seasons, to give undeserved Mercy a free Course. And certainly they have all the Reason in the World, as far as Justice and Gratitude can influence, to expect that it should diffuse an undissembled Loyalty and Affection through all their People. Every good Subject, tho' he needs not the Grace himself, will receive it as a pleasing Instance of the Natural Beneficence of his Prince. That which will recommend a Monarch to the Esteem and Veneration even of those at a Distance, and inspire them with Wishes that they could call him *Theirs*, must certainly yield a double Pleasure to such as have an immediate Interest in him, and raise their Expectation of all the Kindness and Countenance to be hop'd for from a gracious Prince towards dutiful Subjects, when he studies how to melt down even Rebels themselves by unmerited Grace. If there be any among his Subjects Indifferent and Disaffected to his Person and Government, tho' they have not been actually in Rebellion, and therefore have not immediate Occasion for the Grace which he extends to others; yet these ought to admit Impressions to his Advantage from the Royal Clemency. He that sees nothing in this to indear a Prince to him, or that feels no Relenting if he has been disaffected, or no Warmth kindled in his Breast towards him if he was indifferent before, is indeed a Reproach to human Nature. A Man of Vertue, if he scrupled the Title of such Prince, could hardly

forbear wishing that he might enjoy the Happiness of being his Subject. But for the Generality of those, who appear disaffected to his present Majesty, conscientious Scruples are out of the Case, after they have given the most open and sacred Assurances that they own him for their Lawful and Rightful Prince, and engag'd Themselves to the strictest Loyalty and Fidelity. After this, Animosity, or even Coolness to his Interests, can have no Shadow of Defence. But if such Goodness will not lead them to Repentance, I know not what can.

Those who are to be the immediate Objects of his Mercy, may well be expected to shew every Thing that is Grateful and Dutiful for the Future. After they have disputed his Title in the open Field, or engag'd in treasonable Cabals against him, and are in the Power and at the Mercy of an injur'd Sovereign; some of them brought by the Voice of their Country through the Forms of Law, into the very Hands of the Executioner, if a gracious Prince had not stop'd the Hand of Justice: If such as These (I say) are made the Monuments of Royal Grace, can any Thing less than the highest Gratitude be expected by God and Man from them? The very Acceptance of a Pardon from him, is at least a Pledge of their Fidelity for the Future. No Prince can be suppos'd to spare a Rebel, with the Prospect of his engaging in new Attempts as soon as he is discharg'd. He might indeed that way shew the greater Contempt, but such a Contempt as cannot consist with a Prudent Administration. A wise Prince depends at least upon the peaceable Behaviour of those to whom he extends his

his Clemency ; and those who accept of it without that Intention, basely deceive a gracious Sovereign. In truth, common Testimonies of Submission should not content them. More is due from them than from others, to retrieve their lost Honour, and to answer the special Favours they have receiv'd. For pardon'd Rebels to associate again with the Enemies of the Government, to give them any Countenance, to hear with Patience their little defaming Stories, would be the most disingenuous Treachery. But to enter into any of their Measures for over-turning or distressing the Government, is a Crime which wants a Name black enough. It may be expected, that they should let their Prince into the Extent of former Conspiracies, at least as fully as this can be done without breaking through Rules of Honour and betraying their Friends ; or if there should be any among them, who can submit to accept a Pardon from a suppos'd Usurper, and shall still plead Conscience against the Acknowledgment of his Title ; certainly the least that they owe in Honour, is to quit his Dominions, that they may be out of the Reach of Temptation to any new Attempt of disturbing a Prince who generously gave them their Lives.

If Vertue prevail'd in the World, the Favour extended to rebellious Subjects would certainly issue in such happy Consequences ; and then good Princes would never be unready to pursue their own Inclinations to Clemency. But it must be own'd, Acts of Grace (like any other good Thing) are liable to Abuse, and too often found in Experience to be attended

with Publick Inconveniences. A wise Governor understands the World too well to expect, that by the most conspicuous Clemency he shall win upon all his Enemies, or soften every discontented Spirit. Instead of that, several ill Effects cannot but be foreseen, as very likely to insue upon it.

Many Tongues will be set loose, which thro' Consciousness of Guilt and Fear of Punishment, were for some Time silent and modest, to the great Satisfaction and Repose of their Neighbours : And many Hands at Liberty to act against the Government, which were before either kept unactive in a Confinement, or restrained by the Dread of being call'd to an Account for their past Misbehaviour. His Majesty's good Subjects know by Experience, how serviceable this Fear has been to keep many peaceable and inoffensive, at least more tolerable Neighbours, than formerly they were us'd to be.

And we ordinarily see, that Those who least deserve the Royal Mercy, as, having been the principal Actors in a Rebellion, are of all others concern'd the readiest to abuse it. There is a more rational Prospect of gaining or quieting the meaner Sort among the Disaffected by an Act of Grace. There is nothing more commonly or successfully improv'd by the Leaders in Sedition, to set the Populace against a Government, than a Notion of its Severity, which they will call Cruelty : They little consider the Reasons that make Acts of Publick Justice necessary for the Safety of the Society ; nor are prepar'd to enter into the Justness of that Thought, which was happily expressed

pressed in an Address presented some Time ago, that it is in Compassion to the Innocent, ~~that the~~ Laws ordain the Guilty to be punished. No, they are always taken with Mildness and Clemency, without Regard to Circumstances : And therefore such Acts make them Friends or very inoffensive Enemies ; and are for that Reason expedient to suppress a Rebellious Spirit in them. “ The Poets feign, (says my Lord “ Bacon in his *Essay on sedition Troubles*,) that “ when the rest of the Gods would have bound “ Jupiter by the Counsel of Pallas, he sent for “ Briareus with his hundred Hands to come in “ to his Aid. An Emblem no doubt (adds he) “ to shew how safe it is for Monarchs to make “ sure of the Good-will of Common People.

But the Ill-will of the Heads of a Faction is never founded upon such Reasons. They know too well the Absolute Necessity of Punishments to support the Authority and Peace of a Government, to be disgusted at a Prince merely upon that Account ; however artfully they may use this Pretence as the Ground of their Clamours and the Seed of Popular Discontents. But Interest and Lust of Power, making their Fortunes by carrying a bold Attempt, these are the Springs of Rebellion in them. And a Pardon leaves them but where it found them, without any Gratification of their governing Passions, and uneasy at the Disappointment of their Hopes. So that a Government, which will not let them into Power, can hardly abate their Enmity or quiet their Minds by the utmost Lengths of Mercy which Prudence will allow it to run in such a Case. Instead of that, 'tis well if they are not

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not encouraged by having the good Fortune to escape the present Danger, to play the same Game again upon hopes of Impunity.

What then! must there be no Mercy, no Grace to Rebels? By all Means. Let the Throne be established in Righteousness, and upheld by Mercy. Governors will not for the sake of these Inconveniences resolve upon unrelenting Severity: But Prudence will oblige them to use the best Precautions they can, for securing the valuable Ends, with as few of the ill Effects as possible.

For this Purpose, it has been the Care of Prudent Rulers not to make such Acts of Grace too common; lest they should grow contemptible by Frequency, or seditious Minds should get above the Terror of Justice, by presuming upon the Clemency of the Government as a Thing of Course. A Prince will look forward as well as backward, in the Manner of dispensing his Favour, and give his Subjects fair warning that they are not to look upon it as a Precedent. Majesty and Mercy shall shine at once in the Distribution, as they do in our most Gracious Sovereign's Words to his Parliament upon this Occasion; "That nothing may be
"wanting in me to quiet the Minds of all my
"Subjects, I have given directions to prepare
"an Act of Grace; and however it may be
"received by those who are obstinately bent
"on the Ruin of their Country, I promise my
"self that it will raise a due Sense of Grati-
"tude in all such as have been artfully misled
"into Treasonable Practices against my Per-
"son and Government, and preserve them
"from standing in need of the like Mercy for
the

“ the Future, when such an Instance of Clemency may not be so Expedient for the Publick Welfare, as it would be agreeable to my own Inclinations.

Another Precaution of great Consequence, is, the Choice of a proper Season. It lies not within the Province of private People to determine this, and 'tis seldom within their Reach to judge of it. They stand not upon the same rising Ground with their Governors to take that large Compass of View which is necessary for discovering the fittest Juncture. Yet this I may venture to say in the general, the best Time must certainly be, when it is likely to do most Good to the Publick, and to be most for the Service and Honour of the Crown. And with this View we find our Princes have exercised their Clemency sooner or later, just as Circumstances have vary'd. A new Accession to the Throne has been the most accustomed Period of any other, for Instances of Mercy: But this has either been upon a peaceable and undisturbed Succession, when Seditious Attempts against the Government have little Share in the Favour: Or when, after a long Defection, there has appeared a very general and hearty Return of the Subjects to their Duty; which was the Case at the Restoration. On the other Hand, when there has been a remarkable Course of Male-Administration in the foregoing Reign; when the States of the Kingdom had declared a Disposition to inquire into the Mismanagements of evil Counsellors; or when a Spirit of strong Disaffection and Rancour against the new Government shew'd itself: It has been thought
pro-

proper to continue the Rod of Justice over the Heads of the Malecontents, till Parliamentary Inquiries have had their Course, and the Publick Affairs were better settled. All these Circumstances met to retard an Act of Indemnity upon the Revolution. I need not observe the Parallel at King *GEORGE*'s Accession; with the Addition of an actual Rebellion; and, when that was suppressed, new Designs formed abroad to give us fresh Disturbance in Concert with the Restless Faction at home. Certainly they can have no Reason to think much of the delay of his Majesty's Grace, whose new Practices of Sedition and insufferable Insolence made it absolutely inconsistent with all the Rules of good Policy to release them from their Fears one Day sooner. A Prince will not be hector'd out of his Mercy; nor regard the Petitions of Rebels for it, as long as they are spiriting their Accomplices to insult that very Government, whose Mercy they implore, by insolent Language, malicious Lies, and affected Marks of Distinction.

When the Season has been thought proper for an Exercise of Mercy, it has always employ'd the maturest Thoughts of the Government, how far it should extend both as to Persons and the Degrees of Favour. King *Henry* the 7th thought fit more than once to scatter a Rebellion by a Proclamation of Grace at the Head of the Rebels to all, except the Prime Leaders, who would lay down their Arms and return to their Obedience. This has sometimes melted down a Body of some Thousands; and the Heads of the Party, being deserted

serted, have been the only Sufferers, as they were the Fomenters of the Mischief. This has sav'd the Labour of bringing up the heavy Artillery. But where Men have stood the Fate of War, and where defeated, taken, at Mercy; as Examples of Justice have usually been made before any Significations of Favour; so these at last have past with several Exceptions and Limitations, even when the Title has run in the most general Terms of a *Full and Free Pardon*. And upon different Occasions which needed Mercy in one and the same Reign, it has not always been exercised in those Proportions which might be expected by those who were at a distance from the Fountain of Management. My Lord *Verulam* in his *History of Henry VII.* takes notice of the Inequality of his Executions and Pardons upon different Occasions; and observes that Men might think it a kind of Lottery or Chance: But looking into it more narrowly, *says he*, one shall find there was Reason for it, much more perhaps than at so great a Distance of Time we can now discern. In the *Kentish* Commotion in that Reign, which consisted of but a Handful of Men, there were executed no less than 150; and yet in another mighty Rebellion in his time, that of the *Cornish* Men, where there had been Sixteen Thousand in Arms, only three Persons suffered. The Noble Historian is left to his Conjectures about the Reason of the Difference made: But they are worthy of Remark as he goes on; Whether it were, that the King put to Account the Men that were slain in the Field, (in the *Cornish* Insurrection) or was not willing to be severe in a Popular

C

Cause;

Cause; or whether the harmless Behaviour of these People that came from the West of *England* to the East without any Mischief almost or Spoil to the Country, did somewhat mollify him and move him to Compassion; or lastly, that he made a great Difference between People that rebell'd upon Pressure and Extremity, and them that rebelled upon Wantonness.

In Modern Times, and the most celebrated Instances of Lenity, Limitations have been carefully remembred. The general Pardon at the Restoration, 12 *Car. II.* "excepts all Offences committed by any Jesuit or Romish Priest against an A& of 12 *Elizabeth* against Jesuits, Seminary Priests, and other disobedient Persons. In the same A& Forty Nine were excepted absolutely and by Name. And the two Persons that appeared disguised upon the Scaffold at *Whitehall*, *January 30. 1648.* And four more that were dead. It was also provided, that that A& should not discharge the Estates of Twenty four other Persons deceased, from such Penalties and Forfeitures as by an A& of Parliament intended to be past shall be declared. Several others are excepted, for such Pains and Penalties only, not extending to Life, as by an A& to be passed for that purpose should be imposed. Eighteen are so far excluded also, as that if they did ever accept or exercise any Office or Publick Employment in *England* or *Wales* or the Town of *Berwick upon Tweed*, they should stand as if they were totally excepted out of that A&. And the like of several others. All Persons
"like-

“ likewise, who were attainted by Act of Parliament for Rebellion, were exempted from the Benefit of that Act.” No thinking Person therefore can judge it strange, whether he considers former Presidents or the Reason of the Thing, if the Wisdom of the Administration should set some Bounds to Mercy in the present Conjunction. Even Divine Mercy itself is not given at random, without Regard to the Quality of the Object. Pardon upon Repentance and Amendment is the Grace of a God; and 'tis Honour enough to the Grace of a King to be the Image of that which is Divine. If Men, who shew no Marks of Remorse for the Part they have acted against their Prince, and continue associated with the Pretender, should go without a share in the Royal Indulgence; none can have the Face to complain of it, but those who love the Treason; especially if such should be exempted, as by their Popularity might give disturbance, and evidently discover an Inclination to use all the Influence they have to the Common Mischief. Who can think those in a Disposition for Mercy, who express themselves in the following Language, at least till they come to change their Note? “ The Time may come, and I hope will yet come, (says the Earl of Mar in his *Journal* * printed at Paris) when God in his Mercy (he knows what a Judgment it must be to the whole Nation) will open the Eyes and turn the Hearts of these Nations to a Sense of their

Precedents

* Patten's *History of the Rebellion*. p. 270.

"Duty, and not permit so accomplish'd a Person to be always unfortunate: But however it shall please Providence to dispose of him; this I can assure you, and you may rely upon it, that as his Right is indefeasible, he is firmly resolv'd, by the Help of Almighty God, to assert it, whenever he finds a *fit Opportunity*, and never to depart from it but with his Life." Such as are waiting for *fit Opportunities* to renew their Attempt, will certainly be kept at Arm's length.

The Government also knows best, what legal Securities can be given in this Matter by the suspected, or taken against them; who are proper to be excepted by Name, and who in Effect; under what Limitations some should receive this Favour, or under what Incapacities for future Trust and Power in the Publick. 'Tis a little odd to see Men, who have but lately and narrowly escap'd the Halter, make a bustle in Publick Assemblies, push for Posts of Direction in their Parishes, and bullying it in the Places of Concourse and Debate. I ask'd the other Day, who that Gentleman was that discover'd such an Inclination above all the rest of the Company, to make free with the Conduct of the Government; and was told, to my great Surprise, he was one who ow'd his Life, Liberty and Fortune, to the Gentleness of the Administration, in dropping the Advantages it had against him.

The Wisdom of those now at the Helm cannot fail to take the Precautions necessary: And then there will seem but one Thing more desirable, to compleat both the Security and the Satisfaction of an Act of Grace: and that is,

to strengthen the Hands and rejoice the Hearts of Those who are the sure and try'd Friends of the Government, by releasing them from their remaining Fetters and Grievances: Which, while it would enable them to bear a Share in the common Joy, would provide a considerable Balance on the Government's Side, against all future Attempts of the Disaffected. 'Tis unaccountable, that any who have declar'd Themselves in the Whiggish Interest, should pretend to make a Merit of opposing any Intentions to remove the Incapacities of the Protestant Dissenters, and yet declare at the same Time their highest Approbation of what has been deliver'd from the Throne, concerning an Act of Grace to Rebels and Traitors.

What Shadow of Reason can support their present Management? Are the Dissenters more dangerous to the State, than those who are like to come within the present Indulgence? Can they be charged with any Principles subversive of the Government, like the Rebels and High-flyers? Or can it be pretended, that the Church it self, as Protestant, is more in Danger from the Protestant Dissenters, who own its Articles, Sacraments and Ministers, than from a Set of Men, who have now thrown the utmost Contempt upon them all? Or can these Men say, that the Disaffected are reduc'd to a small Number, and may easily be kept under, therefore there is no Danger in setting them at Liberty; but the Dissenters are strong and numerous, and not to be trusted with their Hands untied? They themselves have talk'd so much a little while ago the contrary way, of the Fewness and Insignificancy of the Dissenters,

senters, and of the Multitude of Disaffected Persons both to the King and Bishops, that their own frequent Declarations will turn against them. Do they think to bring the Party they now court, to be Supporters of the *English* Constitution? They know too well, that their leading Men are riveted in Notions utterly destructive to it.

Ay, but they are not for having these Men brought into Places of Trust any more than the Dissenters. Agreed: But why then must they be made *capable* of them, when the Dissenters are not? Or why may not the Dissenters be deliver'd from Legal Incapacities too, and yet by the Wisdom and Care of these Men be kept out of such Places, wherever it is fit they should be excluded; as well as That other Set of People, who are to be kept out it seems by meer Dint of Interest, Principle and Management, while yet they are allowed a Legal Capacity?

But the Dissenters are out of the Pale of the Church, and so have cast themselves out of the Family; therefore ought not be treated as the genuine Sons of the Church and Children of the Family are, however guilty of some rebellious and disobedient Actions. Do they mean, that they are not Christians, or not Protestants? or only that they are not in the National Establishment? They must produce other Proofs for the former, than have yet been advanc'd, before they make any Impression on those who judge of Christianity by the Rule of it, or of the Protestant Religion by the known Principles of those who avow'd it from the Beginning. For the National Establishment,

Of ACTS of GRACE. 23

ment, I'll only say this, That 'tis very hard first to turn them out of the Family, then say they don't belong to it, and therefore take their Portion from them to divide among themselves; and then, instead of any thing like a Restitution, upbraid them with the Loss of their Rights.

But under the present happy Administration, there can be no room to entertain a Thought, that there is Grace for no body but Enemies. On the contrary, if for some unknown Reasons of State, they are first invested in the Privileges of *Englishmen*, every one will conclude, that Subjects of untainted Loyalty shall not long remain forgotten after them.

F I N I S.





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THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. N U M B. VII.

THE
P R E T E N S I O N S
FOR AN
Absolute Power
OF THE
C H U R C H
CONSIDER'D:

Being an ANSWER to some of the most
Considerable OBJECTIONS against IM-
PARTIAL LIBERTY.

Οτι δι' τ' ἀποστατῶν διαιρηθεῖεν τὰ παρὰ τῶν διδασκάλων λε-
γόμενα· καὶ τὰ ρη' συμφωνοῦντα ταῖς γραφαῖς, διεχέσθαι, καὶ ἑ-
σπόμενα ἀποσπείρειν. *Basil. Tom. II. Reg. LXXII. p. 372.*

L O N D O N :

Printed for J. KNAPTON, at the *Crown* in *St. Paul's*
Church-yard; J. ROBERTS in *Warwick-Lane*; and
J. HARRISON, under the *Royal Exchange*. 1717.

(Price Four-Pence.)





A N
ANSWER to OBJECTIONS
AGAINST
Impartial Liberty.



THE Controversy about *Church Power*, and *Christian Liberty*, is of the greatest Consequence to the Protestant Religion in the World. It must stand and fall with the Issue of this Debate. *Popery* has no other Foundation than the Absolute Power of the Church ; nor has the *Protestant Religion* any other, than *Impartial Liberty*, in searching the Scriptures. It's a good Omen however to the Cause of Liberty, to see what Defenders it has on the One Side, and what sort of Opposers on the Other. May every Cause I value, be ever so defended, and so opposed ! One would think the famous Dispute between *Michael* and the Devil, were fought over again in the Persons of Men ; there is so much of the railing *Accusation* on the One Side, and so much of the *Angel Temper* on the Other. *Tannerus*, *Valemtia*, and *Bellarmino*, and other Advocates for the Tyranny of Mother Church, wrote

4 *An Answer to Objections*

with some Consistency: They understood their Cause, and made the best on't; but the Present Patrons of *English Popery*, are neither understood by Themselves nor any Body else: unless a Man can understand *Absolute Power of the Church, consistent with the Liberty of Private Judgment*; and that *the Church has a Right in it self to be absolutely obeyed, upon Conditions and Limitations*: And that *there is an indispensable Obligation upon the Subjects of Christ, to an absolute Obedience to the meet Authority of the Church, in some Instances*; which indispensable Obligation is dispensed with, it seems, in some other Instances. Now when I meet with the *Conditions* upon which the *Absolute* is founded, and the *Dispensation-Instances* of an *Indispensable Authority*, I immediately say with my self, Lord grant that I may have to do with such as *Bel-larmine*, &c. or any that know what they would be at! I despair of coming at the State of the Controversy from such Writers as these, who manage indeed as if they had an absolute Authority to talk Nonsense with due Limitations and Restrictions.

I have a Correspondent, that has stated his Pretensions for the Absolute Power of the Church, or his Objections against the Liberty of Private Judgment, in a Manner that shews his Meaning; without shuffling backward and forward, saying and unsaying; to whom I am to return an Answer in the following Letter.

SIR,

S I R,

I Have always thought it an Essential of the Protestant Doctrine, that when a Christian has used the best Means in his Power to examine and find out the Truth, he has a Right to the Liberty of judging for himself, and that this belongs to every individual Christian; who for the certain Information of his own Judgment, and the full Satisfaction of his Conscience, may, and ought to try by the Word of God, not only the Doctrines of Particular Pastors, but the Decrees of Councils; and so far as he finds them agreeable to the Word of God, to receive them; and so far as they are otherwise, to reject them.

You have many Objections against this Doctrine, and so have a great many of the Clergy; who having got up by this very Doctrine into the Benefices of the Popish Clergy, are for pulling up the Ladder after them. Your first Objection is in these Terms.

This Private Judgment has been the Cause of all Errors, Heresies and Schisms; has led People into those Sects and Divisions which Men would not be in Danger of, if obliged to adhere to the Publick and Established Faith.

Sir, You should have taken your Rise a little higher, and have told us, that it is *Thinking* that is in the Fault. *Thinking* is the Cause of *Judging*, Judging the Cause of *Error*, and *Heresy*, and *Schism*, Ergo, away with *Thinking*; and the rather, because where Men will but Implicitly adhere to the Publick and Established Faith, there is no need for *thinking* at all; for they who judge for me have thought for me already; and what need I think for my self, when I must not judge for my self? You

You should have told me, what this same *Heresy* and *Schism* are; or else, I shall fall to thinking about them for my self. I shall think *Schism* to be, not the differing from any others in Opinion; nor Separation from them, if it were only for my Convenience; but the uncharitable Quarrelling with them upon that Difference, and censuring them for it. In short, the Ravishing away from a Christian his Liberty of Private Judgment, has, in my Mind, a great deal of Schismatical in it. Schisms and Divisions do not arise from different Opinions, but from such clashing Tempers and Interests in Men, as won't allow of such differences; and besides, where there is a pretended Oneness and Agreement in Opinions, yet we see the most scandalous Quarrels, Schisms and Factions.

Heresy is a word of ambiguous Sence. You know, how it changes with the Climate. In *Italy* it is to deny Transubstantiation; in *England*, it varies with the Company a Man goes into. With Doctor *Hickes* and his Church, the Revolution Church is Heretical. You now see the three great Impediments that hinder us (says the Doctor) from joining with the Revolution-Church of *England*, Schism, Heresy, and unrighteous Devotions. We charge that Communion with being like the Church of Rome, corrupt in its Doctrine, Worship, and Ministry *. I am very much inclined to think, that to assert the absolute Power of the Church is *Heresy*; not only because it is contrary to the Articles of the Church of *England*, which disclaims such Power; but because it seems to me to come

* Dr. *Hickes's Collect. of Papers*, p. 313.

against Impartial Liberty.

within the best Account of Heresy I have met with, viz. That by Heresy we are to understand, such Error which is *Destructive of true Religion, and of the Souls of Men*; neither of which has been so effectually done, as where this Power has most prevailed; where Religion is destroyed for the Good of the Church, and the People *perish for lack of Knowledge*, in a most obedient manner.

Those Errors, which you, Sir, would call Heresy, may be run into by a Publick Judgment and Authority, as well as a Private. Whether we look to Synods or National Councils, Consistories, or Convocations; it is easy to produce Instances of the greatest and worst Errors that have prevail'd in these. 'Tis plain to every ones Understanding, that if every single Person in these Collective Bodies be liable to Error, the whole Body may be so too; for, the greatest Number of Fallibles can no more make one Infallibility, than the greatest Number of Finites can make one Infinite. Religion it may be has been, and is corrupted by those in Authority, as well as by Private Persons; ay, and I won't scruple to add, is as likely to be so. This Objection then will hold against publick as well as private Judgment. Take away the Liberty of Private, and the Danger is infinitely greater. A private Judgment can infect none that are not willing to take it, or led into it by Conviction; but a Publick Impolition spreads far and wide, carries along with it vast Numbers; nay, must carry all along with it. Such Heresies by this Means will be much more effectually propagated to succeeding Generations: For where will these *Conscience-Drivers* allow a Man to stop and judge for himself?

self? A private Person falling into this or the other Error, can never be of such dangerous Consequence, as the Publick running into it. The One is only a Disease in a single Person, or Family, the Other sweeps away Thousands; while the single Person must not recover alone neither, tho' they have hit upon the right Thing for their Cure. Nay, such is the Case here, that suppose the Publick Judgment Heretical, and the private Person's Opinion true, yet the private Opinion shall be branded with the Name of Heresy, and the Publick assume to it self the Character of Truth and Orthodoxy. Now unless we could be sure of this, that whatsoever the Publick calls Truth or Heresy, was certainly such; Private Judgment differing from the Publick, will no more indanger the promoting of Error, than it may occasion the finding out of Truth. The publick Decree can neither make an Opinion true or false. The Opinion of Men cannot any Way affect the Nature of Things, to make them otherwise than what they really are; consequently, no Opinion can *make* Truth, or necessarily *determine* what shall be so. Truth will be Truth, whatever the Opinions of Men concerning it may be.

But, say you, *the Publick Opinions are more likely to be true, than those of any Private Man.* I must declare, that I think otherwise; perhaps what becomes the Publick Opinion, is often owing, Only to the Power, ambitious and subtle Management of the single Man. Or, what if it be two or three Craft-Masters who knew how to get a single Opinion stamp'd with the Publick Seal, who in Consultation with them about Opinions, are

are more likely to be perverted by wrong Ends and Motives, than those who are seriously weighing and considering Things in private. The utmost Deference we owe to publick Opinions, I take to be this, to give them a due Consideration, with an humble and unprejudiced Mind, to reconsider this, and hearken to all that is to be said for the Support of this; and if after all, I should see the Publick burn such a Man for his private Opinion, or do him any Harm merely on that Account, I should not stick to call his Executioners Murderers, or Robbers, whatever Outcry they made against his Heresy; and I had rather be in the Place of the Heretick, so call'd, than in that of his Abusers.

Besides, this Argument is calculated for all Meridians, and I believe is used in all; at *Rome*, at *Constantinople*, *London*, *Geneva*, *Edinburgh*, every where doubtless it is urged, that the publick Opinions are most likely to be true; and so I must be a *Papist* at *Rome*, a *Mahometan* at *Constantinople*, and so respectively a *Presbyterian* at *Edinburgh*, and an *Episcopalian* at *London*, and every thing, every where; for tho' the Evidence for these Publick Opinions to be sure is not equal, yet the Argument purely from its being the *publick*, is equally strong. For when you comply upon Evidence, you quit the Argument of its being the Publick Opinion, and go into the Merits of the Cause.

You are pleased to ask, *How there can be any such thing as Error or Heresy at all, upon the same of private Judgment; since if that were appointed Rule, every private Opinion would be right, because equally agreeable to the appointed Rule.* And then you add, that *Atheism*

it self has a good Plea upon the Claims of a private Judgment. Sir, the Sophistry of this kind of Arguing, lies in confounding these two Words, a Rule, and a Guide. All Protestants profess to make the Bible the only Rule, in Matters of Religion; and their private Judgment has the Place of a Guide only, in understanding that Rule. And after you have bethought your self of the Difference between a Rule appointed, which we all agree to be the Word of God; and a Guide in understanding the Mind of God, in that Rule, which is the Understanding and Judgment of a Man; I'll leave you to judge, what Plea Atheism can have upon such a Scheme, as carries a Man, with his best Judgment and Understanding about him, to find out the Mind of God in his Word, as the only Rule. I perceive you would be very glad to be able to take off the Force of that Argument for impartial Liberty, that it is the same Thing with making a New Bible for me, to impose their Sense of the Old, whether I can discern it or no: And more still, when I discern the Contrary to be true, as is not seldom the Case between the Compellers and the Advocates of Liberty. You say, If the Interpretation of Scripture be left to private Judgment, private Judgment does as much make Scripture for it self, as an Authoritative Interpreter does for the Church: And the Meaning of the Scripture will be thereby ultimately resolved into private Fancy; and is it not more likely for Ignorance or Prejudice to bias a single Mind, and prevail in it, than with an Assembly of wise and good Men? Is not this to make ones private Fancy the Rule? And we see in the numerous Sects and Party among Christians, that go off from the publick Faith, whether that Fancy will carry Men. Sir, if for fear of being im-

imposed upon, contrary to my Reason, Conscience and Understanding, we renounce Authoritative Interpretations, does it follow, that therefore for fear of being mistaken, I must renounce my Reason, Judgment and Understanding, and give it up to the Publick? I renounce Authoritative Judgment to avoid being imposed upon; do I therefore impose upon my self, when I judge for my self, and am at liberty to turn into the right Way, whenever I perceive my self in the wrong? In Judging for my self, I may be mistaken, so may your *Assembly of wise and good Men*, in judging for themselves, and me too. In Judging for my self, I may be mistaken, but then I don't know it, and consequently, if I have used all due Means, as it is every Ones Duty to do, I am innocent; but in the Compeller's Scheme, it's unavoidable, but I must sometimes know, or fully believe, they are mistaken, and yet must Assent to what I know, or believe to be False; and consequently, am an Hypocrite, a Knave, to avoid being an Heretick: I must prostitute my Conscience and Judgment to the Reputation and Conveniencies of what the major Part every where call Orthodoxy. He that judges for himself, imposes upon no Body, nor upon himself at all; nor pays any difference to his own Judgment at all in this Matter, but to what he apprehends to be the Mind of Christ. And when this Sense of the Text is apprehended to be the Mind of Christ, call his Apprehension, Fancy, or what you will, it is something arising out of Evidence, and bears Proportion to it, and therefore 'tis the Mind of Christ here, to which the Homage is paid, and the Submission made, and not his own Judgment. Besides, God has

deference

given me my own Reason and Judgment to be my Guide, and not that of another's, any farther than as that others insinuates it self into mine by Conviction, and then it becomes my own. Men may as well repent, and go to Heaven by Proxy, as believe by Proxy; or to speak more properly, assent to Things upon another's Reason only, that never becomes my own, in the Manner above-mentioned.

God has given a Revelation of his Mind, and our Reason and Judgment to understand it, and an Order of Men on purpose to help and assist that Judgment in understanding it. You see, Sir, I am not for demolishing that Institution, under pretence of Judging for our selves. Certainly it is their Business to assist us in Judging for our selves, and not to pretend to judge for us, and impose upon us; but where has God appointed an authoritative Interpreter for the Church, and for all private Christians? The grand Commission we hear so often of, carries in it a Limitation that ought to run through all Ages of the World, *teaching them to observe whatsoever I have commanded.* Now the Business of all Ministers, if they will act according to this, is to show what is commanded; where it is so; and by what Evidence it appears to be Christ's Command; And when they have laid together all the strength of their Evidence, that this and that is commanded by Christ, then to say with the Apostle, *I speak as to wise Men, judge ye what I say*; and to commend all, as the Apostle did the Bereans, who like them, *search the Scriptures to see with their own Eyes, by the Help the Ministry has given them, whether these Things be so or no*; and not presently upon Demur, or Non-assent, to run to *Anathemas*, and Censures, and talk

talk big of Authority of the Church, or call upon the secular Arm. Christ has appointed no such Officer as an Authoritative Interpreter; If he had, it were a needless labour to study the Scriptures; it were enough to believe as he believed, as it is indeed enough to believe as the Clergy believe, if they were Authoritative Interpreters of the Scripture; and so we are come directly round to that Implicit Faith, exploded at the Reformation, *to believe as the Church believes.*

But it sticks with you mightily, *That an Assembly of wise and good Men are more likely to come at the true Sense of Scripture, than any single Man, and less liable to Error and Mistake, to Prejudice and Partiality.* And it sticks with me too, the Difficulty of getting such an Assembly, or if they come together under that Character, to continue them such; and as for Prejudice and Partiality, in Assemblies of wise and good Men, we see they are as liable as others. Most of the Assemblies of this Nature, that ever I heard of, came together, not so much to form their own Notions from the Word of God, as to forge Creeds for other People, carry Points of Doctrine that might serve the Vices and Purposes of the present Occasion; with their particular Sentiments fixed before-hand; not so much to enquire *what is Truth*, as to procure the Publick Sanction to what they had before thought or resolved to be so; that is, in effect to be able to impose their private Sentiments upon People, by a Publick Vote of the Majority. And this it may be by Intriguing, Caballing, Promising, Threatning; by Party Views and Emulations, and oblique Regards to the Interest and Favour of the Great, the Influence
of

of a Court, or an Emperor, who according as He was *Arian* or *Orthodox*, knew very well how to inspire the Oracle of a Publick Judgment, and to determine the Sense of the Text, to which every Private Judgment must Assent. And why may not an honest and diligent Enquirer, with all the Helps God has afforded him, as certainly come at the true Sense of Scripture, especially when this Assembly have proposed their Sense, and left it with him freely to judge of; as well as by thus resigning his Judgment to those, who by such Arts as these, find Means to get their own Private Judgment become the Publick one?

Have not Assemblies their Prejudices, Partialities, and Interests, and other common Infirmities of human Nature together, as well as when separate in their respective Closets? Have they no unreasonable Fondness for their own particular Opinions? No Temptations to tyrannize over the Minds of Others, when in their own Conceit, they are met together to interpret Scripture for them? Has it not plainly appeared in all the Conciliar Determinations and Interpretations that have been made in the Christian Church, since the Apostolical Times, that the Spirit of Party has reigned; that Interest, Intrigue, and Management, have settled the Sense of Scripture, from the Council of *Nice*, down to the Conventicle at *Trent*? The Publick Faith has been coined and passed upon the World, as they could get a Majority in a Synod, or an Interest at Court, or among the leading Prelates; that is, by Convocation-Craft? Now is Truth and Error to be determined by the Majority? May not the Minor Part be in the right? Does this Out-voting the
Minor

Minor Part; strip them of the right of Judging for themselves? Is it fit that the Matters of Conscience and Salvation, should be made to depend upon such Accidents as these? Accidents purely external and foreign to the Nature of Things? Which is the same still, on which Side soever the Majority falls. As Truth and Goodness will be for ever the same, tho' the Majority of the World be against it: And considering the Corruption of human Nature, and that the Major Part of the World are in Error and Wickedness, I should rather incline to suspect the Majority Side, and expect to find the Truth ordinarily among the Few.

When wise and good Men only search after Truth for themselves, if they fall into an Error, they can correct it with ease, when convinced of the Mistake; but how hard do we find it, to make an Assembly of Men retract an Error, when once it has been authoritatively defined? No, they must stand by it whatever it cost, or weaken, if not renounce their Authority. Heaven and Earth are ransacked for Arguments; the Secular Arm is called in to support it; and all to avoid the Shame of a Retraction. And tho' there be never so good Reasons for Retracting, or altering a Thing decreed, still this has been known to out weigh all, we must not own our selves to have been in a Mistake: And is this the likeliest way to find out Truth, or avoid Error? When the Pride of not owning a Mistake, shall be too hard for Demonstration?

Why must an Assembly of wise and good Men be more free from Prejudice, and the Influence of a Private Judgment, when they are about to Interpret Scripture for others, than,
Men

Men equally Good and Wise, when endeavouring to find out the Sense of Scripture for themselves? How comes it that an hundred Men, when studying in their Closets, shall not be allowed to interpret the Scripture for themselves by their own Private Judgment; but when that hundred Men are met together, they shall do it both for themselves and for others? If you tell me of the Light struck out by the Discussion and Debate of a Point; I answer, that then you place the Reason of Assent upon the right Foot, *viz.* the Evidence of the Thing, and the Conviction of each Man's Private Judgment, and not upon their Number or Authority; and consequently, make the same Evidence or Conviction the Rule and Measure of other Peoples Assent, and so we are still where we were. Free Debate is a Means of striking out Light indeed, but there is so little of that usually in those Assemblies, where some are timorous and modest, others overbearing and insolent; some are under the Awe of the Presence of others; some have not the Courage to speak, others not the Ability; some are resolved to shew their Learning and Acuteness, in defending whatever they have advanced; some are intirely led, and resolved to give themselves no trouble about the Matter, but to follow the Major and the Ruling Party:

n.b.

{ These are such as *Thuanus* observes the Cardinal *Lorrain* was, who owned, that tho' his Judgment was with the German Protestants, his Profession must be according to the Decrees of the Council of Trent:

But supposing such Assemblies to be a more certain way of coming at the true Sense of Scripture than by my self, will this constitute them

them Publick Interpreters by Divine Authority? And if not, will their Interpretation supersede my Inquiries? or excuse me from searching into the Mind and Will of God myself? I may allow them all the Regard due to a Body of wise and good Men; I may suspect my own Sense, and incline to theirs; but must I abide by a Sense of Scripture, that after all, appears to me to be wrong? Or shall I acquit my self to my own Conscience, or answer it to God, if I acquiesce in their Sense, whether it be true or false? Is such a Resignation the Way to Knowledge, of what is contained in Scripture? Is it of no Importance, whether I understand Scripture or no? Or whether by my own Understanding, or that of another? Or can I understand it by another's Understanding, and not my own? Am I no farther accountable to the great Lord of my Conscience and Understanding, than barely to receive the Interpretations of Men, pretending to this Authority? Will they bear me out at the Day of Judgment, if I pay such Deference to them, as to err by their Authority? Or if they undertake so largely for me, will this Plea be allowed by our common Lord, and my Error and all its Consequences, be charged upon them? If I must stand upon my own Bottom, and be directly accountable to my own Master, the Plea of Deference to their Authority will stand me in no stead. What would Men have then? Who with an Absurdity and Cruelty that Popery it self knows nothing of, first allow me a Bible for a colour, and awkwardly say, I must read and think; and yet when I have done that, I must give up my Understanding to Convocations, and Assemblies

blies of wise and good Men? (*i. e.*) that I must believe in them, instead of believing in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord. For let any Man, if he can, tell of a greater Act of Faith or Worship, than to acquiesce in, and resign to the Decisions of Men, against our own Conscience, Faith and Understanding. This is to believe in Men, and not in Christ. This is to call Men Masters with a Vengeance: When I take my Faith, or rather Profession of Faith from them, tho' at the same Time I inwardly apprehend it contrary to the Mind of him, who is my Master indeed. Were the Church to understand for me, I had nothing to do but to Wink hard, and give her my Hand, to be led about as she pleases: But can it ever enter into any Man's Head, that this is all the Use which God requires him to make of his Understanding? Which is to put it out, and not to use it all. Will the Enquiry at the Day of Judgment be, what the Church believes, or what I believe? If the Enquiry will be about my own Faith, I must use my own Understanding, that I may have a Faith of my own; and tho' it is possible, in my best Enquiries, I may be mistaken, yet I am doing my Duty; I am acting the Part of a Man and a Christian. I may be mistaken, and so have they been, and have interpreted Scripture against one another: There are Councils against Councils, and Fathers against Fathers. Nor can I be so sure of their Sincerity in the Search after Truth, as of my own; nor can I believe that God has more certainly led them into the Sence of Scripture, who for ought I know, never honestly sought it, than he has led me, of whose Integrity I am as well assured as I can be.

The

The Objectors against the Liberty of Private Judgment, press it as you imagine, with a farther Difficulty: For, say they, *upon supposal that Men have a Right to their own Sentiments, and that they ought not, it may be cannot, in the Nature of the Thing, submit to a Publick Decision; yet, what Right have they to Publish and Propagate these Private Sentiments?* This, you are apt to think, is a Right very different from the former, and no ways included in it. But sure they that argue at this rate, do not consider, that if Men have a Right to their own Private Sentiments, they are under an Obligation to act according to them; for nothing can be more inconsistent and ridiculous, than to suppose a Man free in examining and receiving the Rule of his Conscience, and yet bound afterwards not to use his Conscience in the Conduct and Actions of his Life. This would be a more intolerable Tyranny than the taking away the Rule of Conscience. For how hard soever it be to deprive Men of their Knowledge and Understanding, yet it is harder to force from them their Honesty and Sincerity. The Objectors themselves are obliged to give up this Argument in many Cases. They allow the Apostles did well in rejecting this Advice, when the High-Priest commanded them *not to Preach at all, nor to Teach in the Name of Jesus* *; and for this Reason, *that it spread no farther among the People*. You cannot in Decency to the Protestant Reformation you profess, but own, that our first Reformers did well to discover, Themselves, the monstrous Errors and Corruptions of

* Acts iv.

the *Romish* Superstition; and when they had discovered them, to endeavour that others might see them too, in order to have them reformed and amended. In short, this seems a plain Case, that when a Man is well perswaded of a Truth, and at the same time believes it of such Importance, that it highly concerns the Happiness and Good of others to know it, he is then engaged by all the Ties of Justice and Charity to his Neighbour, to promote the Knowledge of it; and make it as generally beneficial to Mankind as he can. There are few have the Face to deny this in a plain Case, and where a Truth is confessedly of great Importance; as the Doctrines of *Christianity* were against Idolatry, and of the *Reformation* against Popery. And it is to be observed, that by the allowed supposal of this Objection, every Man is to determine for himself, what Truths are of such Importance. For a Question concerning the Importance of Truth, is as much a Matter of Private Judgment, as a Question concerning Truth it self. And the Right of Private Judgment is the same to judge of both. So that to allow a Man a Right to his own Private Sentiment, which is, upon Occasion, to judge himself obliged, from the Importance of a Truth, to promote it in the best manner he can; and afterward to say, he has no Right to propagate his Sentiment; is to say, he has no Right to a Right already granted, or supposed; which is a ridiculous Inconsistency, as well as intolerable Tyranny.

Nor need we fright our selves with the supposed sad Consequences of such a Right; as if immediately hereupon Peoples Minds must be distracted, the Unity of the Church disturbed,

ed, the State embroiled ; and that Incendiaries, under Pretence of using such Liberty, will take the Opportunity of starting new and dividing Sects and Opinions, and so the Emissaries of *Rome* be encouraged to make Advantage of our Divisions. It must be owned this is a good popular Declamation, and may do to keep up a Pannick among the common People ; which serve some Mens Ends, as well as a real Danger of Church or State. But it is to be observed, that it is an high Reflection on the Wisdom and Goodness of God to suppose, that he has so ill provided for the Unity of the Church, and the Peace of States, as to make them depend on such bad Foundations, as an unjust Claim of Power by one Part, and an unreasonable Submission to that Claim on the other Part of Mankind : That the Unity of the Church, or Peace of State, is only to be secured by blind Submission, without Examination, or Reason, to what the Fancy and Ambition of a few shall think fit to impose on the rest. And in good Truth, whoever shall impartially examine, what it is that breaks the Unity of the Church, and Peace of the State in our Differences, will find, it is not a calm and fair Enquiry after Truth, but from the Passions of Men, and the Impatience of Opposition. Some are imperiously passionate for a Dominion over Mens Faith and Conscience ; others are warm'd in the just Defence of themselves, against unreasonable Attempts upon their Liberty ; others have Views of Interest, which are only to be attained by persecuting Schemes, which is generally among those who must supply the want of Merit, by Party-Recommendations. But how the Emissaries of *Rome* should

should make any Advantage of impartial Liberty, but what the Government could easily prevent, is a Mystery to me; they may indeed hope to gain from our^e Divisions, occasion'd by making Parties for unlimited Church-Power: This is their Darling, and so much the same with them, and the Transition so easy, that in Fact they find it the best Topic they have, whereby to carry on their pretended Conversions among us; but it passes Understanding to conceive what they could gain by an avowed Liberty of private Judgment, if this did obtain impartially in all *Protestant* Churches, as it is the Foundation of the Reformation. It must be as a Millstone about the Neck of Popery, that must sink it to the bottom, and never permit it to rise again.

But say you, against this Liberty of propagating of Sentiments, did not St. Paul direct, *Hast thou Faith, have it to thy self before God* *. The Apostle's Meaning appears plainly to be this; you know there is nothing in the *Jewish* distinction of Meats, &c. and that they are of no longer Obligation under the Gospel. However, seeing there are many not fully satisfied of it, he should not draw in such Persons by his Example into an Action, that would be Sin in them, because of their Doubt in the Case; but avoid laying any Temptation in their Way, to eat Things accounted impure, till they should be fully perswaded in themselves. But he never gave Direction, that they who had Faith, should not endeavour to instruct such as had not; and let them see the Truth, that the

* Rom. xiv. 22.

Gospel had taken away all such Distinctions. To produce this Text to this Purpose, is an Artifice to make Men less mindful of the true Meaning of it, *viz.* That however any Persons are perswaded of the Lawfulness of an Action, they ought not to press others, who scruple it, to the Use of it, by their Example or Authority, until they can convince their Judgment, and perswade them of the Lawfulness of it.

But is it not contrary, say you, to the Apostle's Order, against *unruly and vain Talkers, whose Mouths must be stopped* *; and in God's Name, let all unruly and vain Talkers, however distinguish'd, have their Mouths stopped, as the Apostle directs; which is the only thing we are pleading for, *viz.* That they who are able by sound Doctrine, both to exhort and convince the Gainsayers, may have Liberty so to do. It may shame Protestants, who have endeavour'd to pervert this Text, to consider the Sense a Papist has given of it; that it is one Thing to command Silence by force of Authority, another Thing, by dint of Argument to stop a Man's Mouth, which is the Duty here required from the Bishop †. What's this to the making Men conceal their Judgments, by fear of Fines and Imprisonments, or stopping Mens Mouths by choaking them with a Halter?

You tell me at last, that the Reasonings of Men, however plausible, proceed often from Looseness and Corruption; but whatever the Scriptures have bound down upon us must be submitted

* Tit. x. 11.

† Estius in loc. *Aliud est silentium indicare, quod est Imperantis, aliud redarguendo evipiam os obstruere, quod Officium hic ab Episcopo exigitur.*

24 *An Answer to Objections*

10. Sir, I own what the Scripture hath bound down upon us must be submitted to; but I shall not easily own that to be the Scripture which is contrary to true and solid Reason, and such as does not proceed from Looseness and Corruption of Mind; and I could tell you where this very Form of Words has been used to recommend Transubstantiation. You proceed to quote the Passages which you think support this Power in the Church; Passages that have been quoted by every Pamphleteer, that has meddled in this Controversy, without the least Regard to what has been said to them in Reply; as if their Business were to repeat the same Thing over and over, knowing that there are some in the World that may be deceived, and others that may be frightened: Passages that the *Romish Church* have laid claim to, and made miserable Work with; and indeed every Church will claim as well as you; and then the Consequence is, that the Scripture furnishes opposite Churches with Power to enjoin contradictory Sentiments, or you must make out your peculiar Right in exclusion of all other Churches upon Earth.

: There is one Text in the Old Testament, from whence you would conclude, that the Magistrate is to assist the Church in the execution of this Power it claims over the Consciences of Men. The Text is *Job xxxi. 28.* where speaking of Idolatry, or the Worshipping the Sun and Moon; he adds, *This also were an Iniquity to be punished by the Judges, for I should have deny'd God, who is above;* (i.e.) Virtually, and by Consequence, because it would rob God of the Worship which is proper to him: This is reckoned the more Considerable, because it is rang'd

ged with Adultery, in v. 11. which is allowed to be a State-Crime, and to be punished with Civil Penalties. I answer, the Case of Adultery is unquestionably of a Civil Nature; 'tis Injury and Wrong to another's Property, and leads to publick Confusion and Disorder; and so is worthy of a Civil Punishment, for the Peace and Welfare of the State at present, besides the Threatnings of God against it, which regard the Individual himself. *Judah* would have had *Tamar* brought forth and burnt. The Case of *Idolatri* is of another kind, because it only affects the Persons guilty of it, and not another; and renders him guilty before God, not before the Civil Judge; unless the *Idolatri* here mention'd, which imports the Denial of God above, should be supposed to affect the Safety and Security of the State; and then no doubt is as proper to be punish'd as Atheism and Blasphemy, and for the same Reason. But farther, the Word Punish is not in the Hebrew Text, and is rendred in the vulgar Latin by *Iniquitas Maxima*; and by the Seventy thus, *ὁ τὸν πῶς αὐτοῦ ἀποπλάσσει ὁ πῶς ἀποπλάσσει*, it shall be accounted the greatest Iniquity; as it must needs be a great Impiety to worship any thing but the true God, being contrary to Reason and the Light of Nature, as well as Scripture Revelation; and would be so accounted by every one, and especially in such an one as *Job*; for he seems to speak in his own Case, and what it would be in such a Circumstance as his.

But what is all this to *Speculative Opinions*, or *Modes of Worship*? or even to a Man conscientious, and really perswaded in his own Mind, tho' mistaken? It is not conceivable that Civil Punishment is suitable to such a Case; or like to prove effectual; nor is it, I believe, less pro-

spels that you think to your Purpose, and I commend your Prudence for not mentioning that of the Parable, *Compel them to come in* * : Which has been sufficiently turned to the Shame and Confusion of the *Compellers* ; and demonstrated, not to signify external Force, but Reason and Argument, and Persuasion : For the Servants † were sent out to *bid* the Guests, and invite them to the Feast. So in *Mat. xxii. 3.* *And sent forth his Servants to call them who were bidden to the Wedding,—as many as ye shall find, bid to the Marriage, (i. e.)* overcome their Prejudice ; Backwardness, by powerful Reasons and Importunities, the most opposite to Severity and Violence of any thing in the World.

To follow you from the Gospels to the Epistles ; there you find that Ministers are required to *rebuke with all Authority*, and that People are to *obey them that have Rule over them*. What Absolutely ? and in every thing that their Conceit or Passion shall suggest ? or so far forth as what they say is *discerned* to be the Mind of Christ ? There is a Text delivered in a more absolute Form, which yet I believe you will not allow to have such an absolute meaning ; and that is, *Children obey your Parents in all Things*. Had it been said, *People obey your Ministers in all Things*, we should have heard of it round the Year, as we do now of these sort of Texts, whose Sounds are made use of to deceive and enslave the People a Thousand Times, for once that ever we hear of the Duty and Privilege of *judging for our Selves* ; and of the Iniquity of *calling any Man Master but Christ Jesus*. It's certain, that Ministers are to act as those who are commissioned to Reprove and Rebuke, to

* Luke xiv. 23.

† ----- 17.

whom it belongs as an Office ; and People are to submit to their just Reproofs, and obey them in doing, *what they make out to be the Peoples Duty.* And I wish we could see them oftner at this Work, of *Reproving and Rebuking with all Authority* ; and then we should oftner hear the Swearer and the obscene Talker rebuked. But I have taken notice, that if a Ceremony be to be recommended, then, the Dignity and Authority of the Ministry ; but when the Swearer, the Profane Talker, the Sabbath-breaker, the Sons of Violence, that are for *demolishing* every Body that differs from them ; when these come in their way, as they often do, these Ministers seem not to have their Authority about them.

The Apostle does indeed speak of *coming to them with a Rod* * ; but that is opposed to his coming to them in Love, and in the Spirit of Meekness : And may fitly signify, either severe Reproof for their Faults, (which by the way, he was able to show were Faults ;) the Proof of which is a necessary Antecedent to *rebuking with Authority* ; or a casting notorious and obstinate Offenders out of the Church : Which he calls † *purging out the Old Leaven*. And the Punishment that was inflicted of many ** ; (i. e.) by the Suffrage of the whole Congregation. And this he calls a Man's bearing his Judgment ††, or his Censure pass'd upon him, (i. e.) of Expulsion. The Apostle speaks of *Delivering to Satan for the Destruction of the Flesh, that the Spirit may be saved in the Day of the Lord* ††, and that they may learn not to blaspheme *. It is reasonable to sup-

* 1 Cor. iv. 21.

† --- 7.

** 2 Cor. ii. 6.

†† Gal. v. 10. †† 1 Cor. v. 5.

* 1 Tim. i. 20.

pose from these Expressions, that the Devil was suffered to inflict some Punishment upon such Sinners, (as he brought bodily Distempers upon *Job*) when they were cast out of the Church. But then, either this was an extraordinary Power, peculiar to the Apostles, and to those Times, as should seem, by its requiring his Presence among them in order to it; or the Crimes for which they were expell'd, had already given Satan so great a Power over them, that the Expulsion was only declaring to whom it appear'd they did belong. As to the Death of *Ananias*, the Blindness of *Elymas*, the Sickness and Death of the *Corinthians*, and other Temporal Punishments inflicted by the Apostles upon remarkable Opposers and Blasphemers of the Gospel; I answer, That the Occasions were infinitely different from Scruples about *Modes of Worship*, and honest Mistakes in some *speculative Points of Doctrine*. And again, it was a miraculous and extraordinary Power, for special and peculiar Purposes; for the Confirmation of the Gospel, and Conviction of Unbelievers. God owned their Mission and Doctrine by some severe Inflictions on wicked Men; and, as it is not unusual, in the first great Instances of Transgression, to make Examples of such, in *Terrorem*; but then, as the Power of Miracles is ceased, with the Reason of it, it can be no Rule nor Warrant in ordinary Cases. Extraordinary Inflictions were then more proper to convince the Mind, that a Doctrine is from God, than Temporal Penalties, in ordinary Cases, can be to dispose Men to receive particular Opinions in doubtful Matters. This is all I have now to say to your Objections. I am, S I R,

Yours, &c.

THE
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. VIII.

OF
REPUTATION.
AN
ESSAY,

Occasion'd by the
CONTROVERSY
BETWIXT
The Lord Bishop of *BANGOR*
And His OPPOSERS.

*Nec minus Periculum ex magna, quam ex mala
Fama.*

Tacit. in Vit. Agricolaë.

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O F

REPUTATION.



IS one Instance of great Degeneracy in the present Age, that so little regard is had to the *Reputation* of Men; or to *those Things* by which a Reputation ought to be establish'd. That

which Some have been more concern'd about than their very Lives, Others make the Matter of their Sport: Whilst the more gravely dispos'd are setting themselves with Solemnity to wound and destroy the Good Fame of All, who happen to be of a *different Party*, let their Characters be never so good or sacred; and yet thro' Fancy or Interest, they cry up Those in their stead, that are far from deserving to be so much as named with them.

I should be glad to contribute any thing toward rectifying this Disorder of the Times: To help Men to set a just Value upon their

Own and Others Reputation ; governing their Thoughts in this Matter by a more generous regard to Real Worth and Merit. The *Controversy* between the Lord Bishop of Bangor, and his *Opposers*, will afford so many important and useful Things on this Subject, that I hope my Reader will not be displeas'd to find most of the following Pages fill'd up with Remarks upon it.

Reputation must be founded upon Merit or Excellence ; but really consists in the *Opinion* which Others have of that Merit, and the Representations generally given. The strict Notion of Reputation may lye in the good Thoughts that Men have of us ; but in common Acceptation it often signifies, the *publishing* of such Thoughts, and communicating them from one to another : It includes both Esteem and Praise. The *Fund* of Reputation is as large as the whole Sphere of Excellence, natural and moral : It takes in all considerable Endowments of Nature, all the useful Acquirements of Art, and the whole Compass of Real Virtue. But the *Thing it self* lieth wholly in the Breasts or Mouths of Others ; in their good Opinion, or good Account of us ; when we are honourably thought of, and commended for some distinguishing Capacity, extraordinary Acquirements, useful Performance, or shining Virtue. If a Man was Solitary and Unknown, how excellent or virtuous soever he might be, He could not be said to have a Reputation. Nor, where Men are known to deserve it, is the World so just as always to give it.

How-

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However, where there is real Worth and Desert, Reputation is a Piece of natural Justice: For 'tis only thinking equally of Things, and having a due Esteem of Another's Excellence: 'Tis a Copying Nature, and a Justness of Sentiment. And 'tis certainly a crossing upon Nature, and a piece of natural Injustice, to think meanly and disparagingly of conspicuous Merit, exemplary Goodness, and great Atchievements. The good Opinion of Others, founded upon real Merit, is one of the noblest and most reasonable Satisfactions of Life. The wiser *Heathens* valued their Reputation more than any outward Possessions, and above their Lives. They had rather spill their Blood than suffer a Spot upon their Fame; especially upon the brighter Parts of their Character, or their more peculiar Excellencies and Exploits: They have often shew'd a mighty Ambition to survive in Fame, and to have an honourable Esteem handed down to Posterity. The wise King seems to have the same Opinion of it, in those Aphorisms, *A Good Name is like a precious Ointment; and is rather to be chosen than great Riches.* They who make lightest of *Others* Reputation, and treat it with Coldness or Injustice; yet never fail to shew uneasy Resentments when they meet with any thing that touches their *Own*.

Reputation therefore is worth a Man's standing up for. Besides what I have mention'd already, 'tis also farther to be consider'd, that it gives a Man Singular Advantages for more Considerable and Extensive Usefulness. The Weight of Affairs in the
several

several Employments of Life, depends upon the Credit we have with Others, and the Opinion that is entertain'd of our Integrity and Capacity. Men of Reputation will be more employ'd and more regarded than Others, in the different Sorts of Business which they profess. 'Tis a being Reputed for some particular Excellence, or great Desert, that has commonly given Rise to those Dignities, Honours and Advancements, by which Persons or Families are distinguish'd in the World. By this a Man is render'd capable of greater Good to Others, as well as to himself: Reputation gives him a favourable Hearing in what he has to offer; disposing the World to closer Attention, and a more unprejudic'd Regard. 'Tis a Spur to Diligence and Emulation, and the most kindly Motive that a generous Mind can have, to bold Undertakings and brave Designs: So that to injure a Man's Reputation, is, at once, to narrow his Sphere of Activity, and dispirit his Mind.

Yet neither the real Value of the Thing it self, nor the many important Consequences of its being preserv'd or lost, can secure it against the Attacks of Designing and Ill Men. How many are the Ways by which a Reputation may be injur'd? So many, that had it not been for the various Assaults lately made upon the Lord Bishop of *Bangor*, it would be hard to lay them together. But I think, whoever observes the Methods taken by his Lordship's Opposers, in their striking at one of the clearest Characters in the World, will hardly be able to mention any way of injuring a Reputation which They have omitted;

or

or which is farther needful to be appriz'd of.

The fairest way of Assault, is by open and downright Charges drawn up against a Man, whereby he is impeach'd of something scandalous, and generally reproachful in the Eyes of the World. Thus the *Bishop of Bangor* was charg'd with deliberate *Lying*, nay, with little less than deliberate *Perjury*: A Story being forg'd to contradict him in his most *Solemn Appeal* to GOD for the Truth of what he asserted. In this Case, the Enemy appearing without Disguise, gives a Man fair Warning, and Opportunity for his own Defence. This, like open War, puts the Matter into a Way of being soon determin'd; leaving Success to the juster and stronger Side. The *Bishop's* Success, upon this Way of Attack, is very remarkable; and such as will leave a lasting Disgrace upon his Adversaries.

But there are several Ways more covert and concealed, by which a Man's Reputation is very dangerously struck at. Thus also has the *Bishop* been attack'd by Innuendo's and Insinuations; dropping spiteful Suggestions by the Bye; raising a secret Jealousy and Distrust, without any certain and apparent Cause; affirming Things in such a Way as may leave room for a safe Retreat upon occasion, but hardly a possibility of Disproof. One prints a Pamphlet against the *Bishop*, and sets in the very Title of his Paper, *By an Englishman that never was a Jesuit*. Designing to insinuate into Those who go no farther than Hearsays, Advertisements, or Title-Pages, what he thinks may cast an Odium upon the *Bishop*. Another, a flourishing *Dean* and

and Doctor very elegantly puts a Case, *Had I ever encouraged any Body to abuse the whole Clergy of the Nation, &c.* which least any one should be so dull as not to apply to the Bishop, after a significant Dash of his Pen he adds, * *But I believe your Lordship is not unwilling that I should say no more on this Subject.*

Sometimes a Reputation is blemish'd by charging Men with saying Things that never came into their Heads ; or fastning such Consequences upon their Speeches or Writings, as they utterly disown. This is done in so notorious a Manner by Dr. *Snape*, and his *Seconds*, in what they impute to the *Bishop* ; that I could not forbear applying that of *Jerome* to *Vigilantius*, *Et si non dixeris, ita habebis quasi dixeris.* Say it, or not say it, you shall be charged with it. The *Bishop* is charged with being against Ministerial Interpretations of Scripture, because he declares against such as pretend to be Authoritative and Absolute. The Tendency of the *Bishop's* Doctrine is to *subvert all Government and Discipline in the Church of Christ*, because he asserts Christ only to be King and Governour in his own Church. This also they say, tends to reduce Christ's Kingdom to a State of *Anarchy and Confusion*, by referring all to Christ himself. So that however faithful Christ was, and is, *in all his House* ; and however by his Spirit he led the *Apostles into all Truth*, and enabled them to teach whatsoever he commanded ; yet after all, Christ's Government and Laws

* *Dean Sherlock's Considerations*, p. 70.

would

Of REPUTATION. 9

would leave the Church in a State of Anarchy and Confusion, were not a Set of Clergy-men raised up to make Supplements to the Laws of our Saviour. So Christ was represented by the *Pharisees*, in his own Day, as an *Enemy* to that very Law he came to fulfil.

There is another Method very common among the Artificers of Scandal; and that is, giving infamous malignant Turns to Things harmless and indifferent; misrepresenting Mens Actions and Conduct; nay, sometimes dressing up That as Scandalous, which is so far from being Ill, as to appear upon diligent Search Praise-worthy. What wretched Work has been made about the *Bishop of Bangor's* taking one into his House to instruct his Children; concerning whom Dr. *Snape*, and his *Seconds*, had not known so much, nor indeed were concerned to make such Enquiries as the Bishop had done. This, a purely domestic Affair, They have thrust their Noses into, only that They might misrepresent it to the World. The Entertaining a *Proselyte* from the *Jesuits*, and that upon such Assurance as is hardly in any other Case to be met with, shall be still call'd entertaining a *Jesuit*. These Men provoke one to say, that when the Church has been govern'd by such as They are, too many *Romish Priests* were received without half the Satisfaction. In the *Bishop of Bangor* 'tis a worse Thing to foster one, who from a Papist is, upon the best Evidence, become a Protestant; than it is in Others to breed up *Jesuits*, by instilling those very Principles which Mr. *Pillonniere* has renounc'd.

A farther Way of making War upon a Man's Reputation, is to make dreadful Outcries against him among the Common People, and to fasten some opprobrious Name upon him. Thus my Lord of *Bangor* is one while represented as well affected to the *Jesuits*, another while as a *Presbyterian*. No matter how contradictory these are in themselves, if they do but serve, among different sort of People, to blacken the *Bishop*. The Generality are led by Names in a much easier, because shorter Way, than by Reasoning and Arguments. The *Pharisees*, who knew how far ill Names went among the Populace, branded Christ with the Name of a *Samaritan*. The *Samaritans* being abhor'd by the *Jews*, much as the *Presbyterians* are by *Sacheverell's* Mob. Let one that is become a *Protestant*, declare, that he looks upon the *Bible* only as the Religion of such; standing up for a Liberty of every One's judging for himself; making Charity and mutual Forbearance the Centre of *Unity*; and yet, tho' the whole Reformation depends upon these Principles, the Lust of Power will make Men call the Defenders of them, *Free-thinkers* in the loose Sense, *Socinians*, *Deists*, and what not?

Some there are that aim at the highest and most weighty Scandal; endeavouring to ruin a Reputation more effectually, by bringing upon a Man some public Censure; and by doing all They can to render him suspected to the Governing Powers. Thus a Committee in the late *Convocation* are employ'd to draw up Accusations against the *Bishop*; and so far as the Governing Powers are to be influenc'd

Of REPUTATION. 11

Enven'd by what They say, his *Lordship* must be look'd upon, and treated as an *Enemy to the Constitution*. So Dr. *Snape* makes the *Bishop* an Advancer of Doctrines, whose Tendency is to Subvert the present *Establishment*. 'Tis well we have not such a Prince upon the Throne, as the late *French King* was in his regard to such kind of Accusations. How many poor Creatures were accus'd of *Treason**, only for believing those Things which the King did not believe, or which he declar'd himself against? And how many have fallen under the Weight of a *Majority of Votes* in Councils, or Convocations? But tho' a Majority may call themselves the *Constitution*, yet They cannot make *Truth*: And if it so happens, that such as they oppose, have Truth on their Side, They will but expose Themselves, and Their boasted Constitution, by running it down. For "Truth will expose a Constitution, rather than a Constitution be too hard for Truth." *Athanasius* has written a Dissertation against *Those who judge of Truth only by a Majority*†. Which it is probably conjectur'd was writ about that Time, when the *Arians* were superior in Number, and had most Votes.

* 'Tis well known that in *France* the ensnaring *Question* us'd to be, *Do you think the King in a false and damnable Religion, and that if He dies in it He will go to Hell?* If they said *Yes*, they were hurry'd away for *Treason*: If they said *No*, they were concluded obstinate to refuse a Religion in which they own'd one might be saved.

† *πλεονεξία καὶ ἡ ἀνάγκη τῆς ἀλήθειας.*

It would perhaps be thought tedious to enlarge upon all the lesser ways of Calumniating. Such as the making Trifles appear vastly momentous, where they are like to be of any Use in degrading Another: Suppressing the Reasons of an Opinion or Action, which might (if mention'd) make it appear justifiable, and fit to be done: making the utmost of every Fault or Mistake; and insisting on a single Blemish as if there was a general Deformity; like rubbing a little Smut over all the Face, and blemishing all the Features: Placing a Man in a Disadvantageous Light by the artful Management of odious Comparisons; and when other ways of Detraction fail, setting up some of a boastedly Superior Capacity or of a greater Figure, to outshine him in his own Sphere: Inventing Lies which they think may fall in with the Run of Conversation; or shewing a Readiness to receive and spread them as fast as they are told: The *Lover of a Lie* ready made, as well as the *Maker* of it, is ranked in wretched Company, and destin'd to a wretched Place; *without are Dogs &c. and whosoever loveth and maketh a Lie.**

But these things I shall content my self with thus mentioning, that I may follow a little more closely and distinctly the late Debates among our learned Men, which have so basely degenerated into Scolding, and Reviling. 'Tis an Observation upon the Disputants at *Billinggate*, that whoever first calls

* Revel. 22, 15.

- Wh—reor R—gue has the worst Side of the Argument. So when Divines enter the Lists 'tis a shrew'd Sign who are the Weakest, when recourse is had to Slander and Calumny. No Reason can be assign'd why a Man's private Conduct, or personal Character, should be brought into a Controversy,
- but either a politick View of taking away the Force of an Argument by raising an ill Opinion of him that urges it, or else to give vent to Spite and ill Nature. In either Case 'tis a Conduct that speaks Meanness of Spirit, and a little Soul. But when to serve either of these a Man will forge, or utter, and be pleas'd with a Lie, only to render his Adversary infamous, this is Villany added to Spite, and a wicked Policy with a Witness. 'Tis most directly opposite to that *Christian Charity* which *thinketh no Evil*; and which *rejoyceth not in Iniquity, but rejoyceth in the Truth*. If therefore a Christian Man, thro' the too powerful influence of any bad Principle, has become Guilty, of flinging Dirt himself upon his Adversary's Character, or of lending Scandal to another; it becomes him (especially when Falshood aggravates the Defamation) to do what he can to wipe off the Scandal, and repair the Injury. To stand it out in a *Lying Story*, and be unwilling to admit Conviction of its being such, is what no Provocation will justify. 'Tis a Deviation from all the Rules of Reason, Religion, and Humanity, when Opposition to a *Mans Cause* degenerates into Ill Will against his *Person*: And it is the worst sort of Ill Will that shews it self by Scandalous

ious or False Imputations. To oppose Reason with Reason, and Good Manners with the like Civility, makes Controversy entertaining; and when it is thus conducted may do Honour and Service to Religion: But to answer Reason with Reproach, or to leave Arguing to follow a spiteful Inclination, turns Disputing into Fencing, and by degrees into downright Hostility; makes it grievous to all that are good-natur'd, and highly prejudicial to Religion.

The Bishop of *Bangor* is Famous in his Controversial Writings for strong Arguments, and proper Words, without so much as offering at Personal Reflections: The Gentleman and the Christian shine thro' his Performances in this way. But how contrary is the Management of his *Chief Opposers*? The Dr. began the Attack of Scandal, a *Bishop* supported him in it, and now the *Dean* is fallen upon him from another quarter. The Dr. was a little perplex'd with the *Absolutely's*, and *Properly's* in the Sermon he would have confuted; and because he could not get them out of his way, he picks up a Story, that they were not in the Sermon when *Preach'd*, but upon Advice of a Friend were inserted when *Printed*. By this Story he aims at serving a Double Purpose: To make the World believe there was real, and very great, Matter of Difference between the Bishop, and Himself; and also to fix upon the Bishop the Charge of *Lying*, (as I have before observed) that by sinking his Reputation he might get rid of his Arguments; and prevent the World's shewing any Regard to the
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Bishop's Writings. The manner in which the *Bishop of Carlisle* supported this Charge is sufficiently known. And is such as shews Dr. *Snape* must have a violent liking to Scandal, that he should publish a Hearsay, before he could find an Author for it that should be bold enough to face down my Lord *Bangor* in what was charg'd against him. This Hearsay is immediately prov'd a base Forgery, and Falshood: But is there any Evidence of Remorse? No, if Dr. *K.* is to be believed the Bishop of *C.* cannot be honest without continuing the Injury: What he has said *he must abide by.* † He does abide by it accordingly; but speaks so often backward and forward, that his inflexible Proofs of his Honesty, looks not a little awkward upon him. The Doctor has indeed left out the Charge in the last Edition of his Book, but it does not appear he has made any Acknowledgment of the Injury he has done, by his former printing of it. Tho' he not only charges my Lord *Bangor* with a Lie, but a Wilful Lie, and a Jesuitical Shift to cover it because he knew it to be such; yet there is not so much as a Word dropt to make Confession of the Wrong, much less any Reparation for it. The Story is not told over again, because the Doctor would have look'd somewhat worse than a *Jesuit*, if he had persisted in it while it stands so fully Confuted: But it is not retracted as it ought to have been; when a Retraction would have appeared much bet-

* *Courant*, July 9.

ter in a *Postscript* than the Excuse he makes to his new Correspondent. He leaves no Antidote against any of the Poyson the former Editions had dispersed; nor says a Word to take off any ill Impressions before made on his too easy, and credulous Followers.

And is this *Hardness* of Heart in the Assertors of Church Power, what must reconcile us to it? Can't they be perswaded to Remorse for a flagrant Wrong done to one of their own Body that differs from them? And is it ever to be expected they should retract an Error, or shew any Compassion to a Set of People whom the *Bishop* of *Banger* would have restored to their Civil Rights? Alas! what have Dissenters to look for when the Secular Powers are at the Devotion of these Men, to terrify and keep in awe those, who (in their Esteem) disturb the Peace of God's Church†? Farewel to all Thoughts of Justice or Gratitude with respect to Them, if Men of this Spirit should prevail.

Much at the same unrelenting rate the Dr. manages another Calumny against the *Bishop*: Charging him not only with having a *Jesuit* in his Family, and making him his Companion and Confident; but favouring strongly of Jesuitical Conversation. This last part of the Charge he drops in the Third Edition of his Pamphlet, but yet in a way that must lead his Readers to infer it, from what he asserts: Who is so far from retracting what he had said, that he still maintains the

† Vid. Dr. Snape's Second Answer, p. 61.

Bishop has a *Jesuit* in his House, and that he is the *Bishop's* Companion and Confident. Is this using the *Bishop* as the *Dr.* would be used himself? Nay is such Usage even of *Mr. Pillonniere* honest and Christian? To charge him with being a *Jesuit* still, because once he was one? And to charge the *Bishop* with Entertaining and Caressing a *Jesuit*, without knowing any thing (or at least without mentioning any thing) of the Satisfaction the *Bishop* had received that he was no *Jesuit*, but a Convert and a thorow Protestant? If the *World* had no publick notice, yet might not the *Bishop* have just Reason to be satisfied, notwithstanding, of the Sincerity of his Conversion? And doth it not now appear even to the *World*, that this *Jesuit* is become as real a Protestant as any Enemy to Church Power, Pageantry and Cunning can be? Hath he not given sufficient Evidence, of his being further gone off from Popish Principles, than his Accuser the Doctor himself? And yet I am much in doubt whether the Doctor will do *Mr. Pillonniere* any more Justice than he hath done the *Bishop* on this Head.

Yes, the *Jesuit* shall have Justice done him, by fetching accounts of him from the *Jesuits* abroad, and by proving that he is a *Jesuit* still. *Risum teneatis*, the *Jesuits* abroad are to be consulted about one that has deserted them, exposed them, and most solemnly protested against them. And the Doctor will find leisure to make this Inquiry, tho' he has no Vacant time for answering what is afresh writ against him. But suppose by a Colle-

tion of Authorities from *France, Holland and Croydon*, he should expose the Jesuit ; yet he will still be Culpable for his Attack upon the Bishop, unless he can prove that the Bishop had as good Evidence of his continuing a Jesuit when he took him into his Family, as the Doctor will be able to produce after his diligent Researches into his Character.

I do not wonder however that the *Bishop* should be counted Jesuitical by the *Doctor* ; when he has Front enough to tell the World that the *Enemies of all Revelation* are the only *Seconds* his Lordship has in this Controversy. What a Censure is here, and what a dead-doing Hand has this Man of Authority ? And yet there is such a Charm in the assuming Air of such Men, that I doubt not but many have swallowed this Lye without Chewing ; and would have believed the Doctor if he had said his Lordship's only *Seconds* were *Hottentots*. This is the true Spirit of a Domineering Clergyman. If you don't believe as he does, you are a *Heretick*. Or, because this Word is not quite so frightful with us as in Popish Countries, therefore the Bishop's Friends must be branded with the more odious Name of *Enemies to all Revelation*. This, this it is that makes Enemies to Revelation, to see how the professed Friends of it treat one another. For to all I must add, that he who has no *Tenderness* for a Man's Character, but loads it with all the Infamy he can because he differs from him, would shew as little to his Person were it in his Power.

Of REPUTATION. 19

As for the *Dean* who seems to be the Champion that must stop the Bishop's Mouth, we find him not content with strong Reason, but he must also run into the way † of prejudicing a Character by little Stories and Insinuations, in which the Bishop assures him he is *Mistaken**, and in the Wrong as well as others. We find the *Dean* touch'd to the quick in a Matter in which he thought his own Reputation deeply concerned; and yet is presently Guilty of very bad usage of the Bishop: nay, for this very Reason because he had been misrepresented by Another (as he alledges) therefore he revenges it upon the Bishop. But I have no Inclination to descend further into Particulars, I doubt not but the Bishop's Character will shine thro' all the Mists and Clouds that are raised to obscure it. And the rather, because I find his Lordship declaring, he will always preserve that Temper in Writing, and appearance of Charity which has so much offended the *Dean*.

There can be no Means more likely to secure a Reputation once attain'd, than a Firmness of Soul, and Constancy in the obliging use of those Worthy Qualities that procur'd it. This opens to publick View a further valuable part of a Man's Merit, and compleats it by adding Steadiness, and Constancy to his Character: So that now the former good Opinion which the Wise and Judicious Part of the World had of him, becomes a prov'd confirm'd thing.

† Sherlock's *Consider.* p. 66. 70.

* Postscript to Preface before Pillonniere.

This is a much surer way of raising a Reputation and preserving it, than a Political Ostentation of False Virtues; than the too usual methods of Flattery and Dissimulation, a mean and servile accomodation to every popular and prevailing Humour; or a Vicious Self-Interest covered with the mask of a Concern for the Publick. 'Tis very hard to continue long the Impressions made on Mankind by these means: some will have Penetration enough to see through them; or some Incident will discover what the Man really is; and shew the true Humour or Passion that governs him through all the false Pretences used to cover it: And then he must naturally expect Contempt and Infamy in return, for the undeserved Reputation he had stoll'n from a deceived People.

But tho' in general, a Steadiness in those worthy Qualities and Actions that procur'd a good Reputation, be the best way of maintaining it; yet there are so many Persons who have their Passions or Interests to serve in ruining it, that neither the greatest Excellencies, nor the best using of them, will secure a Man from attempts to degrade and sink him. When such base and wicked Attempts are made upon a Man, there are some Prudentials in management that may more easily disingage him, and will help him to clear himself with Honour. It is an Argument of a little Mind, and vain Temper, to make a Serious matter of every slight Reflection on a Man's Character: To take notice of the Weakness or Rudeness of every ill-

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natur'd ill-manner'd Person. In such cases 'tis Prudence not to hazard a Reputation by shewing we have so little Knowledge of the World, or so little Firmness of Mind, as to be discomposed by trivial things. • That Greatness of Soul, which makes a Man appear Superiour to the Enemies of his Reputation, by despising them, is no uncommon way to advance a Reputation. Men may without any imputation of Vanity or Pride, assume an Air of Greatness, and a Virtuous Consciousness of their Deserts, against the impotent Attempts of harsh unciviliz'd Spirits; and as knowing Themselves secure from Danger in such Instances, make them the Foils to set off an Establish'd Reputation.

But when the attempt is made by Persons who have Power or Interest enough to do mischief; when they charge such things as Essentially hurt a Reputation; it is a prudent management to wipe off all such Aspersions with Briskness, and Resolution. When a Man sits down quietly and tamely under a Charge that touches his Honesty and Integrity, the World will likely take it for a Confession of his Guilt; at least for the mark of a mean or timorous Spirit. To be unconcern'd for one's whole Reputation is a sure way to ruin it. The World will judge He can hardly deserve a Reputation, who appears to have no value for one. And He will always be thought not to value it, who is unconcern'd about what is Essential to it. Nothing can be more Essential than Honesty and Integrity: For without These, all other good Qualities will not be able to procure Esteem,

Esteem, Trust and Affection. It must needs therefore touch a Man in a very tender Point to rob him of so valuable a Treasure as his Credit.

So in whatever way a Man's Reputation is blacken'd, he is obliged to resent it in proportion to the Importance of what is struck at. Especially when a Man is attack'd in his most peculiar Excellence and Talent; in the principal Labour and chief Glory of Ones Life; in his Knowledge and Learning in his own Profession; his Sincerity or Virtue in a sacred Character, and the like.

It may happen that a Man's necessary Vindication of himself in such Cases may force him to press his Adversary to many Inconveniencies, and to leave him at last under a Load of Disgrace, which his Goodness and Humanity would have avoided if possible. But a vigorous Defence of injur'd Reputation, is just in the Defender by the strictest Rules of Morality; and it is honourable in the Opinion of all civiliz'd People. Whatever Inconveniencies are brought on the Aggressor, he must place to the Account of his own Injustice, and Evil Design on the Reputation of his Neighbour.

Yet even in this Case, Men should take prudent care that the Sense of an Injury do not make them loose their Temper, and draw them into any Indecencies; and so betray them into a Discovery either of a weak Judgment, or Intemperate Passions. That they do not help to destroy a Reputation, which the false Accusations of their Enemies could never hurt, if they had not lent them
their

their own Assistance. When they betray Perverseness and Ill-humour, a morose Nature and revengeful Temper, all they can expect from their Friends is Pity for Esteem; but from their Enemies they are sure to meet with Scorn instead of Respect. Whereas, if under the severest Provocations, a Man can preserve that Kindness and Humanity which shall add a Reputation to his other Abilities, and uses no other Severity than what a just Self-Defence makes necessary, He has an opportunity to shew the Brightest Character; That He is compleatly Master of himself and of his own Conduct: That He knows what He should be, and yet more, knows how to be what he should. This must heighten a Man's Reputation with his Friends, and force an inward Respect even from Enemies themselves.





To the Author of the OCCASIONAL PAPER.

S I R,

YOur Thoughts are Earnestly desir'd by some of your Readers on that which has been of late the chief Subject of Conversation, and has so much employ'd the Press; I mean the Affair of the *Bishop of Bangor*. Methinks your Pen should not lye still, when *Truth* and *Catholic Christianity* are so much concern'd. Remember your first *Advertisement*, and what you have given Reason to expect from you. And then say, what Clamour and Noise! what Sophistry and vile Arts! what false Insinuations, and Lyes detected, are used to ruine the Name of a Man for preaching a Doctrine most plainly deliver'd in the Gospel. It must surely be a *Kingdom of this World* that can need, or use such Supports as these. 'Tis the *Craft* being in Danger that makes this *Uproar*; not the *Kingdom* or *True Ministers* of Christ. *Religion, Church, Ministry, Discipline*, &c. are Words loudly used to the same Purpose with *Great is Diana of the Ephesians*. Help Reverend Operators in Calumny! The Reverend Mr. *Hilliard* who tells us *his Gall is broke* in the Controversy: The Reverend Mr. *Trap* with his *diabolically Mad, Dumb, and Deaf, and Dull Devil*. Let the Reverend Dr. Innys

knave's assist too; For He can prove out of the *Apostolical Constitutions* that the Bishop is a *God upon Earth* (*Θεὸς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς*) Whilst his Fellow-Labourers insinuate him to be a *Devil*; 'Tis either God or Devil according as it serves the purpose. Let the Reverend Dr. *Snape* produce his *Living Man* and *Jesuit*; and Dr. *Sherlock* talk of his *Bars* and *Bolts*. Follow ye *Hendlys*! *Laws*! and *Marsdens*! and all the Underworkers in Rudeness and Detraction! Upon the whole it must be allow'd there never was more of it on one side of a Controversy, manag'd on the other side so handsomly, and with so much Temper. Really Sir I cannot help saying, that the Attack upon the *Bishop's Reputation* has been manag'd as if He was the only Person that had any to lose in the Scuffle. After such a manner of Dealing as some have used; (Violent Distortions of the Sense; separating and disjoyniting Words from their proper Places; Wrenching away the honest meaning from some Sentences, imposing a Bad one upon others; not allowing an Author to say what he has said; and making him say what He never thought on;) I would undertake after this manner to make Nonsense and Blasphemy of the Bible it self, and turn any Author in the World into Ridicule. Yet some of my Lord *Bangor's* Opposers follow one another in these ways, with the most Stupid Reflections: If one says the Bishop lets the *Devil into the Church of Christ*, because he asserts the *Church* to be his *Kingdom*; Another licks it up after him, and asserts it over again; without any regard to the Distinction.

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between that Kingdom of Christ which is his Church, govern'd by his Word and Spirit, and that Kingdom which is the *Universe*, govern'd by his Power and Providence, and which includes the Government of Devils Themselves.

Sir, if you should not think it worth your while to make the Bishop of C---'s *Dirty Tour*, and to follow these Controversial Writers thro' all the Kennels of the Town; yet I hope such a Writer as Dean Sherlock will call up your Attention and Regard. And I think his attempt to represent my Lord Bangor as a *Worldling*, after his preaching such a Sermon of Christ's Kingdom not being of this World, tends to fix a Scandal and an Odium on the Bishop, little less than the deliberate Lying charg'd upon him by Dr. Snape. The Dean says, * *Had I upon Pretence of Exhorting others to Submission under the hard Terms of not tasting the Beneficence of the Government, in a distinguishing manner, shewn how uneasily I bore the want of Preferment my Self; your Lordship would have had some Colour to think me not a little concern'd for the Riches and Glories of this World.* I would ask what Merit the Dean thinks He can make to himself by this awkward Boast? Three Prebends, Two Master-Ships, a Deanry and a Rectory might prevent any Man's gaping for further Preferment, that had not a very voracious Appetite. But let this be turn'd from the Dean to the Person on whom He plainly designs it should

* *Considerations.* p. 70.

rest; and then the Charge is fix'd upon Somebody of *being not a little*, even beyond himself, *concern'd for the Riches and Glories of this World*. To expect some distinguishing Favours for eminent and distinguishing Service is no Aspersion upon any Man; but what is insinuated in that Expression, *uneasily bearing the Want of Preferment*, 'tis hard to tell: Twenty little Stories for ought one knows may be wrapt up in, or hereafter grow out of these few words. The *Dean's* Complementing the *Bishop* in another place with the Character of *Domitian* has something exceedingly invidious in it.

Pray Sir! let it be thought worth your while, to make some Reflections on such Managements as these; especially on the most notorious Scandals fix'd on the *Bishop*. One cannot easily imagine a Practice more mischievous than a licentious Freedom with established Reputations.

It is in *itself* one of the worst Sorts of Injury. A Man of Honour and Integrity prefers a good Name to every thing else except the Peace of his Mind. He had rather hazard his Life or Fortune, than forfeit his Character. And therefore to rob him of that, is to injure him in the most tender Point, in which it is in the power of another to touch him. Besides that in the *Consequence* it may come to affect all his other valuable Interests; the Execution of his Designs, the Advance of his Fortunes, or even the Security of Estate and Life it self. One thing it directly tends to deprive him of, for which in truth a good Man will principally value Life, "a Capacity of being useful to the World. The Credit

and Service of Clergymen especially; are us'd to live and dye together. He that destroys the one, is accountable for the Loss of the other. And the Injury still rises higher, in Proportion to the Superior Station, the uncommon Abilities, the extensive Interest, and generous Love of Mankind, by which any Christian Minister is distinguished.

The Mischief is the greater, when all Care is taken to spread and give Credit to the Scandal: When it is sent abroad in the most publick manner; deliver'd with the greatest Assurance, *in verbo Sacerdotis*; colour'd with a Zeal for the Church, and a pretence of doing God Service. These are Vehicles which seldom fail to convey any malicious Story into the Minds and Belief of the common People. And an Honest Man is left under great Disadvantages for defending himself: 'Tis hardly possible that the Damage should be thorowly repair'd. Either the Antidote reaches not so far as the Poison; or the Poison has had so much time to work up the Passions and Prejudices of the People, that the Antidote comes too late: or after the fullest and clearest Confutation, somewhat of Jealousy and disadvantageous Surmize at least will stick. It was natural to expect, that Thousands would have greedily swallow'd down the horrid Imputation upon my Lord of Bangor, of a false Appeal to God, who would never have Inclination or Opportunity to be set Right by his Defence: That must inevitably have been the Consequence, had not his Lordship pursued a quick and happy Thought

Thought, (the only one that could prevent the Mischief being irreparable,) to extinguish the Calumny as soon as born by the most timely and publick and unanswerable Vindication.

But the Mischief is far more extensive than to the immediate Sufferers. *Truth* and *Knowledge* must be Sufferers too. Nothing can be a greater Discouragement to all impartial Inquiries and growing Discoveries by Men of Genius and Application, than to see the Example of such ill Usage for advancing any thing out of the beaten Road. They must expect to have an open Cry against them; that every unhallowed Method shall be used even by Clergymen to sink their Reputation; Names of Odium thrown out against them at all Adventures, and that they may be arraign'd for the blackest Crimes upon meer Hearsay-Tattle. Noble Encouragements indeed to Learning and Study, and to generous Endeavours for enlightning the World! When unconcerned Spectators see thro' these pious Frauds and observe Clergymen so forward and active in them, when the Cause of the Church is pretended to be served by them; they are easily tempted to sink their Opinion of the Church itself: And the Clergy, instead of gaining those exorbitant Accessions of Power and Veneration which they are contending for, lose the just Respects due to them from the Laity. Nay 'tis well, if Christianity itself suffer not in the end by the Quarrel.

I leave you to do with these Hints what you please: Something of this Nature might


might possibly do Service in your way of Writing Your Paper is not I believe so generally read among those who are most concerned in this Controversy, as one would wish; but whether it may be of Advantage to them, or not, I am perswaded it will be very Serviceable to others; and will greatly oblige,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

F I N I S.





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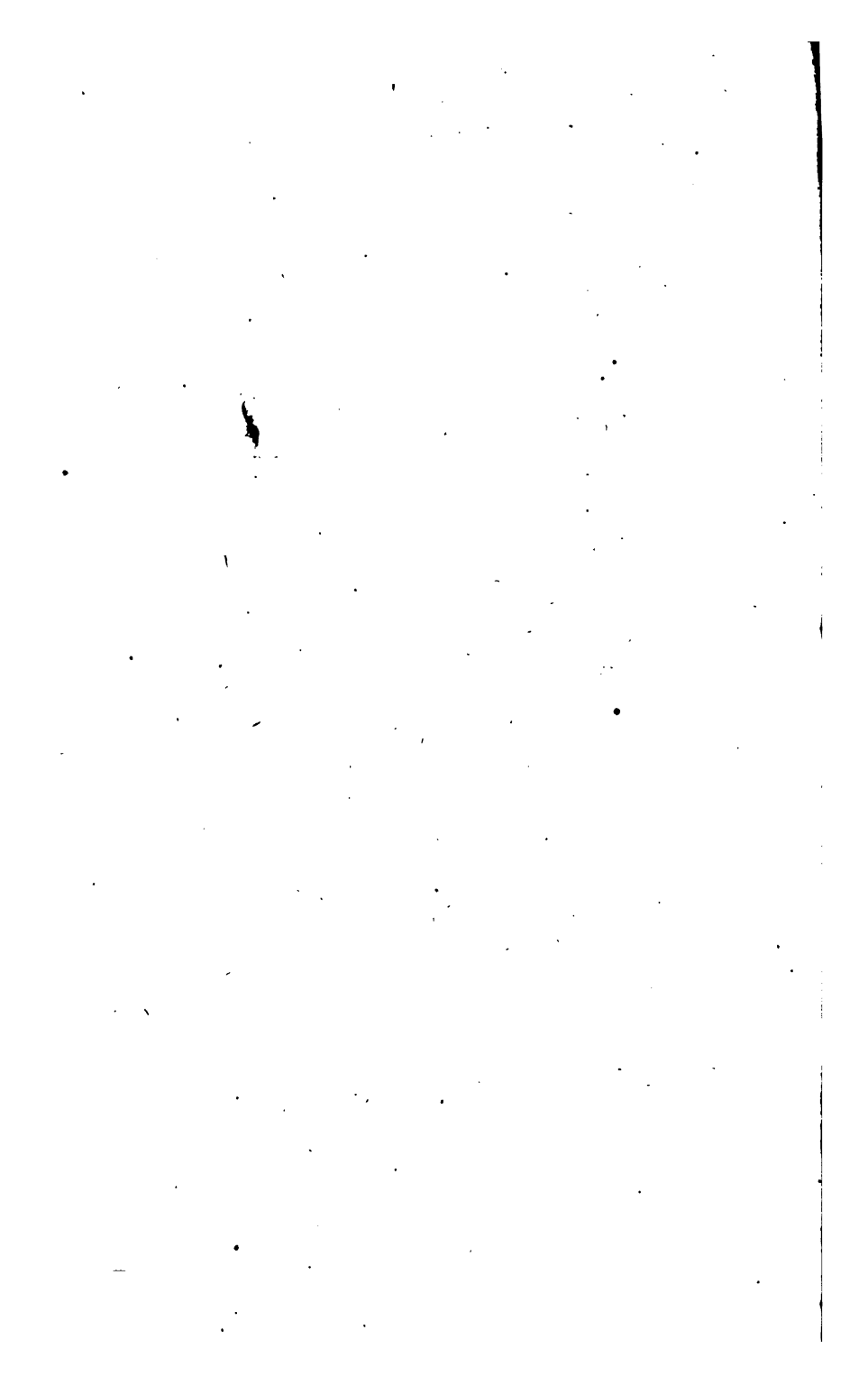
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THE OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. IX.

OF SOCIETIES FOR *Reformation of Manners;* With an Address to Magistrates.

Common Sense, as well as the Experience of all Ages teaches us, that no Government can flourish which does not encourage and propagate Religion and Morality among all its particular Members. It was an Observation of the antient Romans, that their Empire had not more encreased by the Strength of their Arms, than by the Sanctity of their Manners: Cicero, ----- makes it a Doubt, whether it be possible for a Community to exist that had not a prevailing Mixture of Piety in its Constitution? ----- a Man who would hope to govern a Society without any Regard to these Principles, is as much to be contemned for his Folly, as to be detested for his Impiety.

Freeholder, No. 29.

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O F
S O C I E T I E S
F O R

Reformation of Manners, &c.



LT is one avowed Design of this Paper to assert the just Liberties of Mankind: But all just Liberty must be founded in Reason, and kept within the Bounds of Virtue and Religion. If these Bounds are broke down, it degenerates into Licentiousness: and this, should it grow Universal, would introduce Tumult and Confusion into Society, would tear its Ligaments, prey upon its Vitals, and quickly issue in its Dissolution. It is Virtuous and Reasonable Liberty that the Author would assert and cultivate, but would by no means be understood to countenance or abet Licentious Practices. This were to ruin his own Design; for Freedom and Property are mere Names, where Men have renounc'd Reason, abandon'd Vir-

tue, and declar'd themselves loose from all Laws and Bonds of Morality or Religion. It is with an Heart bleeding for his Native Country, that he beholds the Corruption of Manners, and the dissolute Behaviour, of Multitudes of his Fellow-Citizens. He trembles to think what the Issue will be ; how certain our Ruin if Things go on at this rate, and how near we stand to the Brink of the Precipice.

There is no Truth more obvious in Nature, or better attested by common Experience, than this, *viz.* That a general Dissoluteness of Manners, in any Community, tends to its Destruction. By it Magistrates are unqualified for Rule, and Subjects for Obedience. Men of all sorts are averse to all good Orders : Those in Power grow Remiss and Indolent, give themselves up to their own Inclinations, and permit others to pursue theirs ; and those under Command snatch at the Liberty offer'd, and shew how glad they are to cast off all Rule, and live without any. And this is to confound all Things, and bring on swift Destruction. Without Order Government cannot subsist ; and where no Government is, Societies must either be torn to pieces, or disband.

All kinds of Immorality have also a Tendency to ruin Truth, which is to destroy all mutual Confidence among the Members of Society, and this is tearing all its Bonds to pieces. The Adulterer and Whoremonger generally act in Disguise, and by false Pretences carry on their dark Design. In this way, at least, they always corrupt and ruin the Innocent.

cent. And one of them breaks the most solemn Covenant that can be made by a Man and Woman, the matrimonial Contract. And who that hath broken through these Obligations, and here parted with his Faith and Honour, can ever be held by any Contract else? The Cheat and Robber are upon no Terms with you: The one will Deceive, if he can; and the other Challenges for his own whatever he can by Force or Fraud extort from you. And how quickly is the Debauchee reduced to an unhappy Necessity of providing a Maintenance in this Method, either to keep himself from Starving, or to feed his Lusts? The prophane Swearer makes a direct Assault on Truth, and seems to bid it Defiance. A Man conscious of his own sacred Regard to Truth, contents himself with barely asserting what he would have believed. He knows he can make this Demand in every Common Case from all who know him. But he who must have his Assertions always backed with Evidence, and call in Witnesses to his Veracity, is conscious sure that he cannot demand Belief upon his Credit; and whence should this proceed, but from his known Disregard to Truth? So certain is our common Proverb, *That he who Swears will Lie.* If a Man has any Meaning at all, when he Swears in common Conversation, it evidently carries this Supposition in it. He has himself a very slender Regard to Truth, and the more he Swears, the less is he to be believ'd. This is bringing Oaths, the greatest Bond and Pledge of Truth, into downright Contempt; 'tis vacating all their Force, and making them cross their

their Principal Design. And other Vices have a like baneful Influence.

Many Vices proceed in other Methods to ruin Societies. The Strength of any Society is commonly the Security of it; and, next to the mutual Confidence of the Members, nothing gives greater Strength to it, than its Wealth and Riches. But Pride, and Luxury, and Lewdness, and all manner of Riot and Debauchery, have a direct Tendency to the utter waste of a Nation's Wealth. These Vices cannot be maintain'd but at vast Expence. And when Business is neglected, whilst the Stock is wasting, and that Stock but little too, how fast will Poverty come on? And how many have we now among our Poor, that are made and kept such by Idleness and Debauchery? Do not all Parties complain of the Increase of the Poor, and the Burthen of their Maintenance? And must not this Burthen still encrease, the more Idle and Debauched we grow? And must not this in time affect the Body Politic? If our Poor grow too Numerous to be maintain'd, how shall the Government be supported, or the Society subsist? And how quickly may Things grow to this Pass, if such notorious Vices are indulged or countenanced?

Nay, the Vices of a People lay them open to the Practices of their Enemies. If you will but supply Fuel to their Lusts, how easily may you blind their Eyes, and bind their Hands? Nay, employ those very Hands in tearing out their own Eyes, and sling away their most valuable Privileges?

And

And sure the Church must be in the utmost Danger from the Vices of the People, if by the Church any thing be meant, besides the Grandeur and Wealth of the Clergy. All Religion must be ruined where Immorality prevails; for it cannot prevail without breaking through all the Bonds of Religion. And when Men are grown into a Contempt of Religion, the Priesthood cannot long have Honour and Respect; or if it have, it must be such only as is forced by Fear, or purchased by fraudulent Conveyances, or the Issue of Stupidity and Ignorance. And though this may for a while well enough serve the Purpose of those, who by the Church mean only their own Power and Interest; yet will it not long serve their Turn, if other Men will play their own Game against them, and Support and Encourage the Vices of the People: For they will always be led by vicious Inclination, and when that meets with most Encouragement, they will be at Command: So that those wicked Church-men, who would serve themselves by the Vices of the People, may miss their Ends, and have their Engines play'd against themselves. But it is blaspheming the venerable Name to make the Church stand for such Ideas as these; and scandalous for any Man, to plead for such a Church as must be supported by the Vices of the People, or that will nor be hurt and ruin'd by giving them Countenance and Encouragement.

Upon all Accounts 'tis very plain and evident, that the natural Tendency of Vice is to ruin Nations. 'Tis prejudicial to them in all their Interests. It slackens or tears in pieces the

the Bonds of Union; it creates Diffidence and Discord; it consumes the Wealth, and weakens the Securities of the People; it melts their Strength, and corrupts their Understanding, and makes them an easy Prey to Enemies. And in Christian Nations the Mischief yet spreads farther. Vice licens'd or indulg'd in them, threatens ruin to Religion, and is like to overturn the Church as well as State.

This Matter lies very plain in the Reason of Things, before those who will give themselves leave to think. And the Experience of all Ages confirms the Truth. If either Sacred or Prophane History be consulted, it will be found, that the Rise and Fall, the Prosperity and Ruin of Nations, have been more owing to their Virtues and Vices, than to any Causes else whatever. The Foundations of their Greatness, Wealth, and Power, were laid in virtuous Actions; but Vice and Immorality have always undermined them, and brought them to Destruction.

It must be the Concern then of all who wish well to their Country, and understand its Interest, to have some effectual Check given to spreading Vice. The Laws of all civilized Nations have made Provision for this Purpose. But what are Laws of themselves, if not animated by due Executions? And how can Laws be executed, if Offences against them be not brought before the proper Officers, that they may take Notice of them, and deter others by punishing the Guilty? And when Disobedience to the Laws ~~are~~ is grown common, and the spreading Infection of Vice has engaged Multitudes in the Conspiracy

for Reformation of Manners. 9

spiracy against Virtue, that is, against the Peace and Prosperity of their Country, how necessary is it that the Friends to all should confederate against them, and with united Heads, and Hearts, and Hands, endeavour to give Vigour to the Laws, and drive back that Flood of Misery that is breaking in upon them? How rare a Spirit, and how generous a Love to their Country do those Men discover, that will enter into such a Confederacy? How much should they be commended and encouraged? The highest Honours are due to them; and they can hardly be in the Interest of Virtue, or Religion, or Friends to their Country, who would treat them with Coldness or Disrespect, who do not wish them great Success in their Attempts, and in their several Places, give them all the Countenance and Help they can.

A Society for Reformation of Manners is the most Honourable and Useful Combination in any greater Community. It was brave, and shewed the warmest Zeal for the Honour and Interests of their Country, in the Men who first set a foot such Societies among us here in *England*, and in others that came into them, and lent an helping Hand to such a generous Design. And it was prudently, as well as bravely done, to associate and with united Strength pursue it.

Great Designs for the Publick Good are seldom well laid or vigorously pursued, but in Society. When a considerable Number are formed into a Body, they have a great Advantage over any single Persons, in Point of Wisdom and Contrivances. The Maxim of the

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Wise Man is verified by Experience. *In the Multitude of Counsellors there is Safety.* The different Sentiments of several wise Men, will be like an Union of Rays, by which the common Light is collected, and appears more bright and strong than when dispersed. A lucky Hint is often started in a Debate, or by Conversation, that would never have entered into a Man's Mind alone. And sometimes by comparing Things together, and observing the precise Difference among them, a new Opinion is formed distinct from each, and preferable to every one. By acting with mutual Consent and Advice, Men are able to concert proper Measures for stated Procedure, against Emergencies and Inconveniences.

And this is more plain as to the Power of Execution. Many a wise and well-contriv'd Design has miscarried, for want of Power to carry it on. Single Attempts are easily born down, and render'd ineffectual by popular Prejudice, a strong Tide of Opposition, or the Weight of the Charge necessary to support it. But a Body of Men well compacted, gives Authority and Weight to a good Design, makes it appear Considerable and worthy Regard, furnishes many Hands for the several Parts, avoids the Envy and Odium which is the common Shadow of great Merit and generous Attempts, and easily supports an Expence above the Ability of private Persons.

It is not easy to imagine how much may be done by the united Wisdom and Strength of a formed Society, if we had not many remarkable Instances of it in the World. The

French

for Reformation of Manners. 11

French Academy at Paris for refining their Language; *The Royal Society at London* for Improvement of Natural Knowledge; *The several Societies* for propagating the Christian Faith and Knowledge; *And the several Companies* for Trade and Merchandize, are so many plain Proofs, how useful Societies are, in their different Kinds, for promoting all Sorts of Learning, the Spreading Religion, and the Increase of Wealth.

And if this hold true in general, in the Case of these Societies there was somewhat peculiar that required such an Union. A Flood of open Immoralities, by the Countenance of Superiors, and Neglect of Laws, had overwhelmed the Land. All Places of public Resort abounded with Oaths and Lewdness. Houses of criminal Concourse and Entertainment were Numberless. Multitudes of every Rank and Order were Corrupt and Degenerate, setting the Example, and giving Encouragement to every Vice. Yea many Clubs of lewd and profane Persons formed, to elude the Laws, and propagate Profaneness and Immorality.

In these Circumstances a considerable Number of wise and pious Men, of distinguished Zeal, several of Character and Condition among the different Parties of Protestants, began these Societies very quickly upon the Revolution. A proper Opportunity to endeavour to reform the Nation, when, by a wonderful Providence, it had been restored to its Civil Rights. And they have been carried on ever since (alas! that it must be said) through many Struggles, and with too little Success.

Indeed the generous Patriots who first engaged in the Design, could not hope to carry it on without Opposition, and therefore wisely formed themselves into Societies to act in Concert, to animate each other under discouraging Difficulties, and support the common Expence. And how fit a Method this was, the Event has shown. Though they have not had the Success one could have wished; it would have been much less, if they had not thus incorporated.

All Men will ever take Endeavours for a Reformation, for an Attack on them. Their Vices have so much the Ascendant in their Affections, that any Check upon them will rouse them to the most resolute Defence, as if they were contending for every Thing that is dear to them.

The People of dissolute Manners make so great a Number, that it lessens in them the Apprehension of their Fault, and animates them to enter the Lists, against all that would endeavour their Amendment. They are encouraged by the Figure of those who appear on their Side, as well as by their Numbers: The Men of principal Estates and Power are, in too many Places, ready to spread this Infection by their Influence and Example: And I wish it were a Calumny to say, that the Clergy in several Parishes of the Kingdom, are far from being the principal Patterns of Virtue and Sobriety.

When Matters are at this Pass, it is hardly to be expected, that those who give themselves an unrestrained Liberty, should be very forward to reprove or punish Vice: Or that
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any Steps they take, should have much Effect for the Reforming the People, whatever grave Airs they put on in the Pulpit, or on the Bench, Every Body must take that for mere Grimace, or Compliance with the Drudgery of their Office. The Tenant, the Labourer, the common Parishioner, will hardly mend at their Reproof, whilst he hath the Countenance of their Example; but only lament that he cannot sin as cheap as the Squire, or as easily get himself absolved as the Parson.

A good share of Courage is necessary to declare War against Vice, when it is so powerfully supported. Most of those, who are in the Interest of Virtue, think it enough if they can maintain their own Character. Few will have Boldness enough to appear in the Field against such powerful Opposition; and those that do, will hardly make much Progress, or so much as stand their Ground, without difficulty.

Loose People have also found Ways of exposing the Friends of Virtue to popular Odium, and of disparaging their most commendable Actions, by affixing Names of Reproach to them. Their personal Virtues are all sullied at once, by the bold Imputation of *Hypocrisy*. If they take a Step towards reclaiming their Neighbours, though it be with the most disinterested Concern for their Welfare, they are troublesome *Busy-Bodies*. If they only tell them in the most friendly manner of their Faults, and give them good Advice, this is *Cant*. If all their good Advice is lost, and they see it necessary to bring Offenders to Punishment, they are *Cruel* and
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Unmerciful. If they make the Magistrate, for this End, privy to the most notorious Violations of the Laws, they are vexatious and unneighbourly *Informers*. 'Tis unaccountable what Impression a Word thus thrown out, without a Meaning, or without the Shew of a proper Application, makes, upon unthinking People, to set them against the truest Friends of the Public Interest; and even upon many of the Better Sort, to intimidate them from any Zeal and Activity in so good a Cause. These have been Discouragements to the Design, and Obstacles to its Success: Yet one would think, Men animated with the Love of Virtue, and Zeal for the Public Good, should break through them, and give Countenance to it, if they would not wholly embarque in it.

One Thing I have heard indeed alledg'd against the Societies as to the Matter of Fact, which, could it be fixed upon them, would be some Prejudice to them, even with honest and good Men. I mean, that some employ'd by them, have compounded with Offenders; instead of bringing them under the Censure of the Law, extorted Money from them, and then let them escape. This looks rather like a Design of private Gain, than a Concern for public Reformation. But to this I think it would be enough to say, the Rank and Fortunes of many engaged in this Service, must set them above all Suspicion of such mean Views, as well as their known Virtue and Integrity.

But the Societies have taken effectual Care to clear themselves of any such Imputation,
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by an Advertisement first published several Years ago, and since frequently repeated, wherein they declare, "That there have been
" indeed some base and wicked Persons (not
" engaged, or in the least concerned in the
" Societies) who have extorted Money from
" Offenders, and sometimes from honest
" Men: But all such Practices are utterly
" detested by the Societies, who have caused
" such Persons to be prosecuted when
" they have discovered them; nor do they
" know or believe, that any engaged in the
" Societies are chargeable with it; that to
" avoid all Suspicion of acting from a mercenary
" Principle, they have always refused
" what is allowed by Law to the Informer;
" that if at any Time hereafter it should
" happen, that any Person or Persons, concerned
" in the Societies, should be guilty
" of any Evil Practices, the Societies will
" be highly obliged to those, who for the
" Public Service, shall make discovery of it."

This is as much as could be done by them for their Vindication, to prosecute those, who unjustly shelter'd themselves under their Name, while they acted so vile a Part; to give the World Public Notice of such Miscreants, and to solicit it as a Favour, that any of themselves might be made Public Examples if ever they should be found engaged in so base an Action. And it will pass for a sufficient Vindication with all who use to think, or have any Affection for Virtue or Religion. Those who are open Enemies to both, will go on to pour out all the Reproach they can against them; and those who are indifferent to the Cause

Cause of Virtue, will be without regard to all the Apologies they can make: But they will stand clear in their Character after this, and be honourable in the Esteem of all who understand the Worth of Virtue, or value the Common Interests of Mankind.

In spite of all the Opposition they have met with on one Hand, and Neglect on the other, they have hitherto maintained their Ground, and gained some Advantages against Wickedness. It is not quite so Open and Barefac'd, so Insolent and Daring as it was some time ago; as it was particularly, a little after the *Mob's Divine* had assured them, *That under the sanctify'd pretence of Reformation of Manners, to turn Informer was to assume an odious and factious Office, and arrogantly intrench upon others Christian Liberty and Innocence.* Many disorderly Houses have been suppressed, many profane Swearers have been convicted and reclaimed, many lewd Women have been brought to public Shame and Punishment, and the Number of those Evening-Strollers are lessened. And the good Example set by *England*, has been followed by other Christian Nations, with a very laudable Emulation. And once one would have hoped, so useful an Attempt should have been carried on to Perfection, and a new Face put upon the Christian World at least; and Virtue every-where have become Honourable, and Vice Infamous and Detestable.

One cannot but wonder there should be any Men of Character for Virtue, or for Regard to their Country, that can be indifferent in such a Cause as this, and much more that
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can discourage or condemn the Undertaking. But that any Magistrates of this Character, should be among these Indifferents, or these Enemies, is perfectly Astonishing. Yet is it to be feared that this is One of the chief Hindrances to their Success. The vicious Magistrate can't put the Laws against Vice in execution, without condemning and punishing himself, at least by the Reproaches and Stings he must feel within. And the virtuous Magistrate, if he be not a Man of Spirit and Courage, would fain excuse himself from being singular, and therefore suffers himself to be influenced by the general Example of those in the same Station. And what by the Indolence of the one Sort, and the Enmity and Opposition of the other, the Design is in too great a Measure at a stand. Some can't afford time to attend to their Part of the Business, others have not Hearts for it, and others again are most heartily set against the Design in general, and will discourage it to the uttermost, and how then shall it be carried on?

But can any Magistrate that understands his Trust, and the Obligations of his Office, that hath any Regard for Virtue or Religion, any Love to his Country, or Zeal for the present Government, allow himself to be indifferent in such a Cause? And fold his Hands, and close his Eyes, and with an Heart wholly unconcern'd, let it die, after it hath been carried on so long, and with so much Success, through many Difficulties and violent Opposition?

The regulating Mens Manners; Right Honourable, and Right Worshipful! belongs to You by Office. The public Peace and Welfare is a Trust committed to You. How will you clear your selves of betraying this Trust, if you hinder the Reformation, discourage the Societies, or seem indifferent to the Design in which they are engaged? How detestable a Conduct would it be in any Man, to stand by and look on silently on a Person setting Fire to the City? Why, Fire is but one way of Ruin, nor is it so irreparable as the Destruction of public Morality. Is there nothing precious but Houses, Goods, and Treasure? Is not the Peace and Order of Society necessary to preserve and enjoy these Possessions? Or is it an indifferent Matter whether our Sons have any Temperance, our Daughters any Chastity, or our Servants any Honesty, or no?

But consider your selves as Christian Magistrates, and how much stronger is the Obligation? How much more powerful the Motives? More excellent the Rule? more noble the End? and more glorious the Reward? And how much more diligent therefore should your Endeavours be for National Morality? Can you make any just Claim to the Christian Name, without exerting your selves here? To be a Christian, is to declare Opposition, according to our Place and Power, against the Works of the Devil; which can never be reconciled with doing them our selves, or taking Pleasure in them that do, or giving any Countenance to them.

A Christian Magistrate knows himself appointed to be a *Terror to them that do Evil, and a Praise and Protection to them that do Well.* And can it be a Question with any but the suffering Criminals, whether executing the Laws of the Land, which are the same with God's, be doing well or no? You may do a great deal with your very Eyes, to scatter the Evil, or countenance the Good; to hearten or deaden this Work: In your Hands it must live or die. And you must be answerable for the Consequences. You are *appointed to attend continually on this very Thing.* It is not a Business by the By, a Matter of mere Condescension, but the very Reason of the Institution, and End of your Office. Should you make the Execution of the Laws against open Wickedness difficult and tiresome, our very Watchmen would betray us, and they who keep the Gates would let in the Enemy. In short, you cannot in this manner betray your Trust, without being treacherous to your Redeemer. Better renounce the Name of Christians than bring so gross a Reproach upon it, and intimate by your Behaviour, that a Christian Magistrate is under no Obligation to his Lord and Saviour, to shew dislike to Vice and Immorality.

Methinks, if you have any Regard to Virtue, any Love to your Country, you should not be indifferent. The Laws, though never so good, cannot execute themselves. The most solemn enacting Clauses are but the Shew and Image of Authority, whilst they remain in Parchment only. You must give Life to them by proper Execution. And is it not

evident, do you not stand convinced, that the Laws against Immorality and Profanefs are for the Public Good? Is it not notoriously to the Hurt and Mischief of the Public, that Vice should be licens'd by being under no Controul or Restraint? Is not this the way to have Business neglected? Time that should be spent in Trade or Labour, wasted in the Alehouse, and the Stock that should maintain the Family, melted down in humouring Mens Lusts? and is not this the high Road to Poverty, and many times to greater Mischiefs? Are not Tumults and Riots the Result of Lewdness and Debauchery? And will not those, who have put off the Man, be ready for any Mischief that shall be suggested to them? And the Lewder and more Licentious Men grow, must not the Mischief still increase? And should you bear the Sword in vain in such a threatening Juncture, and see the Mischief, and so plainly trace it back to its Original, and yet use no Endeavours to prevent it? Do you complain of the Burthen of your Poor? Do you dread the Fury of an enraged Rabble? Reduce Men to a sober and virtuous way of living, and you'll ease your Load, and remove your Fears. And can you seek the Peace and Welfare of your Country? Can you truly love it without giving Countenance to Endeavours for Reformation?

And yet I can open to your View a sadder Scene, and bring that into sight that must strike you if you have any Pity or Humanity. I mean the frequent Condemnations and Executions that happen in this great City. Can you that sit in Judgment, or you that assist on
such

such solemn and melancholy Occasions, see the many Criminals that are brought out to Trial, and hear the awful Sentence pronounc'd over so many, without being moved? What must that Heart be made of, that is not touched with Pity on so moving an Occasion? And can you feel any due Compassion stirring in your Breasts, and not be glad to prevent Things coming to this extremity? Let these Criminals then speak, and they will own that Drunkenness, Profanation of the Lord's Day, resort to Houses of Lewdness, and learning to blaspheme the Name of God and Things sacred, were the Introduction to their more Capital, I can hardly say more Criminal, Enormities. Let the Laws then be put in execution, and these Offences punished, and it would stop Men in the Beginnings of a vicious Course, and prevent such numerous Executions. *Nemo repente fit Turpissimus.*

But to all in Power who have any Zeal for the present Government, I have another Consideration yet to offer, to engage their Countenance and Encouragement to all Attempts for Reformation. When Men grow corrupt in their Morals, and greatly criminal and vicious in their Lives, they are lost to a true Sense of our Religion and Liberty, and cannot be concern'd in Principle or Affection for a Government, designed for the Preservation of both. Unrestrained Vice will extinguish all generous Sentiments of the Dignity of Humane Nature, the Glory of civilized Manners, and the Peace and Happiness of a well-regulated social Life. These are the great Blessings of Liberty which make it desirable:

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But can this ever be expected from those, whose licentious Inclinations make them chiefly delight in Confusion and Disorder? Far from endeavouring to maintain the Blessings of Liberty, they are at hand, whenever wanted, to help on a Mob, a Tumult, a Seditious Riot. These are Men to be depended on, ready for any Mischief a bold and intreaguing Head shall lead them to.

A Roman Historian has made an Observation much to this Purpose, on the Method *Catiline* took to strengthen his Conspiracy, and that he placed much Hope in the Debauchery and Corrupt State of *Rome*, when he formed his Design to ruin the Liberties of his Country. *In Tantâ tamque Corruptâ Civitate, Catilina, id quod factû facillimum erat, omnium Flagitiosorum atque Facinorosorum circum se tanquam Stipatorum Catervas habebat. Nam quicumque Impudicus, Adulter, Ganeo, Alea, Manu, Ventre, Pene, bona Patria laceraverat, quicquid alienum æs grande constiterat, quo Flagitium aut Facinus redimeret; — Postremo, omnes quos Flagitium, Egestas, Conscius Animus exagitabat, hi Catilinæ Proximi Familiæresque erant. Quod si quis etiam a Culpâ vacuus in Amicitiam ejus inciderat, quotidiano Ufu atq; Illecebris facillè par, similisq; Cæteris Efficiebatur.* In so great and corrupt a City, *Catiline*, as he easily might, got great Crowds of the most wicked and flagitious Persons to be as it were his Guards. For every lewd Wretch, that by Gaming, Gluttony, or Lust, had wasted his Patrimony, and contracted vast Debts; — In a Word, all who were Debauched, Indigent, or conscious of any heinous Crime, are *Catiline's*

line's Friends and Intimates. And if any innocent Person, happened into his Acquaintance, he quickly became like the rest. *His Amicis Sociisque Confusus, Catilina, opprimunda Reip. Consilium Cepit.* Depending upon these dear and sure Associates *Catiline* formed a Design to destroy the Commonwealth.

How often has this Observation been verified since King GEORGE's happy Accession, that Enemies to their Country are sure of the most hearty Friends in the vicious and debauched Part of the Nation? Who have been the Readiest all along to Insult his Government; to disturb the Peace and Quiet of the Nation under it, both in City and Country, by Mobs, Riots, and rebellious Insurrections, but those, whom a due Execution of the Laws against their other disorderly Practices would have laid in the Stocks, or in *Bridewell*? As the Reason of this is natural and perpetual, nothing else can be expected from them. Their Vices render them irreconcilable Enemies to Liberty: For true Liberty implies the Preservation of every Man's natural and legal Rights, and therefore is as much broken in upon by the Insolent Licentiousness of the Vicious, as by the arbitrary Invasions of a Tyrant's Will. And it is as great an Enemy to all lawless and tumultuous Practices that affect the quiet and peaceable Enjoyment of what a Man possesses, as it is to Tyranny, which renders his Right and Possession precarious; for which Reason Vice and Tyranny are easily brought into a Confederacy to destroy Liberty.

Now

Now it being the Glory of the King's Throne, to support and be supported by the Liberties of a brave People, all who have an Affection for either, should look upon immoral and vicious Persons, as Confederates with the Pretender against the Crown and Government of our gracious King, and all the valuable Liberties of our dear Country.

There is yet greater Reason why such Persons should be reckoned Enemies of all Religion, and of the Protestant Reformation in particular; and how easy it is to step from thence to an Enmity to the Protestant Succession, every one may see. The Protestant Doctrine makes real Reformation essential to true Religion, and that in Life and Manners, as well as Faith and Worship. Now this creates unconquerable Aversion to it in the Libertine; and why should such, how can they indeed be zealous to support a Government, for the sake of preserving a Religion, to them the most grievous and insupportable of any?

Besides, Popery has long used the accursed Policy of accomodating it self, as to some Mens Ambition, so to all Mens Vices. How well does it suit a Libertine to hear of a religious Project that offers an Expedient to reconcile a lewd and vicious Life with the Hopes of Eternal Happiness? To hear they may escape the Sentence and Condemnation of God's Law, by the same Method of Interest or Money, in which, it is to be feared, they have often eluded the Laws of their Country? And though from their own Actions they have reason to fear all the Judgments

ments threatned by God's Law, they may yet have what Stock of Merit they please in the Pope's general Bank, and fully secure their last Chance, by Pardons, Indulgences, Absolutions, and Extreme Unctions. What Rake, or what Strumpet would not join in the Cry for High-Church, Popery, and the Pretender, when they bring with them the admirable Secret of assigning to the Rake the Devotion of an Anchorite, and to the lewd Woman the Chastity of a Nun? No wonder such Persons fill the Cry of, *No Hanoverians, No Low-Church.* They would be as ready to cry, *No Heresy, no Protestant;* for there is no greater Heresy to them, than a Doctrine which requires Purity of Manners, and virtuous Actions.

Have you any Concern then, Gentlemen, for the Security of a Government, that is the Security of your Religion and Liberties? you see how much it should be your Concern, how much 'tis your Duty and Interest, to reform the Manners of the People; to countenance and help forward all honourable Endeavours of the Societies towards it. Open Vice, Immorality, and Prophaness countenanced or unrestrained, are the most dangerous Enemies to our present Establishment; the great Originals of the many Tumults and Riots that have been committed against us, and that great Fondness for the popish Religion, and a popish Pretender, which hath been so openly declared of late. You cannot but see this, if you will open your Eyes; and how can you answer it to your King,

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your Country, your Posterity, to give the least Discouragement to those who generously labour to reform the Age; nay not to give the utmost Encouragement to them, and make their Work as easy as you can?

Must they give over the Attempt because you have not Leisure, that is, not Inclination to lend them any Help? And what will be the Consequence? Not only great Part of the Kingdom, but many other Nations, kindled by the Zeal of our Societies, and formed up-
on their Model, have gone on so vigorously as to be Examples to their Originals. Can we, who had the Honour to bring them into the Field, desert them in the noble Warfare, but to our eternal Confusion and Disgrace? And can Magistrates, who have any Regard for Virtue, or Sense of Religion, from mere Indolence and Love to Ease, lend an hand to bring us under this Reproach?

Think, Gentlemen, what will become of us, if you suffer these Societies to be broken or born down. For if while they oppose their whole Force, backed with your Authority, it is as much as they can do to make an honourable Stand: If the Wretches that debauch our Children and Servants, and train up for the Gallows, can find Money, Friends and Advocates to entangle the Prosecutions, and by increasing the Difficulty and Charge, make the Law a Terror to them that do well: If those Laws that fence about your Property, and guard your Peace, are so often violated now: If Religion is not only neglected but insulted, the Sabbath profaned and God blasphemed

phemed ; If Dissoluteness and Debauchery now face the Sun, and often outbrave both Heaven and you at once ; Good God ! what would it be if there were none to call for Justice ? If there were none to make the Laws heard and felt, or Sinners afraid, by the due Execution of them, which is their only Significancy ; the Devil would return upon us with *seven Spirits worse than the former*. All future Attempts for a reforming Society would be laught out of Countenance ; and a Flood of Iniquity, that has been long swelling on its Dam, would at length bear down all before it. Sin would be triumphant : The very Laws against Immorality would become obsolete, or voted a *Publick Nuisance, and Abridgment of the Peoples Liberty*. Can you call your selves Christians ? Can you have any love to Virtue or good Manners, and not dread Things coming to this pass, or not exert your selves to prevent it ?

Let me urge this one Consideration farther upon you, that as the forming these Societies was one of the happiest Omens to the Nation ; so their Disbanding, or giving over their Endeavours for want of due Encouragement from you, would be the most threatening Pre-sage of God's giving us up as a People that *hate to be reform'd* : over whom he might pronounce, *He that is filthy let him be filthy still* : or what was formerly the Sentence of an abandon'd People, *The Bellows are burnt ; the Lead is consumed in the Fire ; the Founder melteth in vain, for the Wicked are not plucked away. Reprobate Silver shall Men count them, because the*
Lord

28 *Of SOCIETIES, &c.*

Lord hath rejected them. You see at whose Door the Rejection of your Country is like to lye. If you can be content the Weight of such a Guilt should lye upon your selves, we are at a sad pass indeed. The Lord have Mercy upon us.

F I N I S.



T H E
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. NUMB. X.

A N
ADDRESSES
To The
CLERGY
In Relation to the
SOCIETIES
FOR
Reformation of Manners.

The Scandal brought upon Religion, as it was not contracted by the Irregularities of One or Two Persons, but by associated and common Crimes; so neither will it be removed by a few single and private Reformations. There must be Combinations and Publick Confederacies in Vertue; to ballance and counterpoise those of Vice; or she will never recover that Honour which she acquired by the General Piety of her Professors.

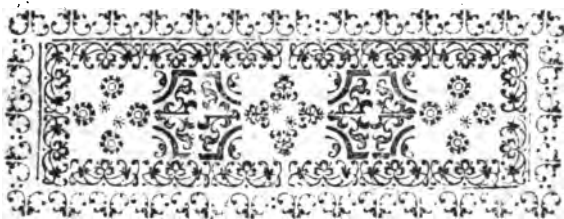
Causes of the Decay of Piety; By the Author of the Whole Duty of Man.

L O N D O N :

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AN
ADDRESS
TO THE
CLERGY

In Relation to the SOCIETIES for
REFORMATION of MANNERS.



THE usual Limits of this Paper not allowing me to proceed on the last Subject, I shall now address my self to the *Clergy*, as I did before to the *Magistrate*, earnestly requesting that Reverend Body, that they would more generally and heartily own and assist the *Societies for Reformation of Manners*. I hope the Presumption of being their *Monitor*, tho' with Deference and Respect, will be pardon'd to the Zeal for the Honour of their *Order*, and the Welfare of the *Societies*; as the former has met with particular Favour and Regard.

I think it has already sufficiently appear'd, that *Societies* are necessary to carry on such an

Undertaking as that of Reforming a *vitious Age*. The worthy Societies form'd among Us have had considerable Encouragement from many of the Clergy: I find them particularly animated in the last *Account of their Progress*, by the noble Passage of the celebrated Author of the *Whole Duty of Man*, which I have plac'd in the *Title Page*. The Sermons preach'd to them by some of the Right Reverend the *Bishops*, and Others of the *Leading Clergy*, have given them great Countenance, and had a very good Effect. 'Tis with real Regret I'm forc'd to observe, That many of the Younger Men, and those who have more lately enter'd into *Holy Orders*, have conceiv'd Prejudices in their Mind, and are less friendly dispos'd to them: I believe I may say for them, That no Discouragements would be so great, as those which arise from that Quarter.

I know there are some, who would not be thought to be against the *Reformation* it self, who yet speak against the *Present Societies*: But it were to be wish'd, such Persons would propose some better *Model*, or produce some new *Expedients*, and shew more proper *Methods* of Proceeding, than those which are now pursu'd. If they cannot do this, 'tis no Injustice to suppose, That they who talk against the *Present Societies*, let their Pretensions be what they will, are against *Reformation* it self.

For my own Part, I must confess it appears very plain and rational, That those Men should be esteem'd and valu'd as most Serviceable to the Design of Reforming our City and Nation, who have known all the Steps taken from the Beginning of such a Work; who
are

are acquainted by Experience with the best Methods of Discovering, Convicting, and Punishing the vicious Part of the World; and who have shewn their Sincerity and prevailing Concern for publick Morality, when it has been to their own Cost, and in spite of the greatest Hatred and Opposition. And whoever is acquainted with the Spirit and Temper of these *Societies*, would easily be sensible, that they would be far from taking it amiss to have any Mistakes laid before them, or have further Counsel and Advice offer'd, where they are thought in the Wrong, or any shall appear concern'd to set them Right.

There is one Thing would be highly pleasing to them, and would very much tend to take the Work out of their Hands; and that is, "If the Clergy would more frequently consult with one another for the Good of Religion;" 'Tis the Archbishop of *Canterbury's* Advice in a Circular Letter in 1699. "And that the Clergy in their several Parishes should invite the Church-Wardens, and other pious Persons among the Laity, to joyn with them in the Execution of the most probable Methods to break any evil Custom. These Parish Meetings are to be directed and animated by that noble Zeal wherewith so many in these great Cities do promote true Piety and Reformation of Manners."

And if in those Meetings any thing should occur which requir'd further Skill and Experience, or more Strength, for the right and successful Management of it; it should be esteem'd a great Advantage to have recourse
to

to these greater Societies. 'Tis therefore argu'd in the *Circular Letter*, " That since our
 " Lawgivers have enacted Temporal Punish-
 " ments on purpose to assist in the Discharge
 " of our Ministry, it would be a great Failing
 " in us not to make use of them, when all
 " other Methods have been tried to no Effect.
 " Every pious Person of the Laity should (if
 " need be) be put in Mind by the Clergy,
 " That he ought to think himself oblig'd to
 " use his best Endeavours to have such Offenders
 " punish'd by the Civil Magistrate, as
 " can no otherways be amended; and that
 " when he hears his Neighbour *Swear*, or *Blas-*
 " *pheme* the Name of God, or sees him offend
 " in *Drunkenness*, or *Profanation* of the Lord's-
 " Day, he *ought not to neglect* to give the *Ma-*
 " *gistrate* Notice of it." Now as there are
 certain Cases, in which they, who associate in
 lesser Numbers in each Parish, could not so well
 manage the necessary Prosecutions of some
 Immoralities in their own Neighbourhood; so
 does it make larger Societies (like those now
 among Us) the more requisite and desirable;
 that, as Occasions press, they may be advis'd
 with, and Matters of Difficulty put into their
 Hands.

And that every Clergyman is oblig'd thus
 to promote the Prosecution of Vice and Im-
 morality, by the very *Law* of the Land, is evi-
 dent from the Appointment, " To read pub-
 " lickly in their Churches four Times a Year
 " the Proclamation against Vice and Propha-
 " nefs." To enforce the Observation of this
 Appointment, the late Bishop of *London*, in
 a Circular Letter to the Clergy in his Diocese,
 has

has these Words; " Would it not be a shame,
 " full Reproach to us, a great Part of whose
 " Business it ought to be, to watch against
 " these Sins, to be found tardy in those Op-
 " portunities which the Laws have given us,
 " to warn People of their wicked Courses.
 They who in Contempt of all this have be-
 come of late so Zealous for the *Church*, as to
 vilify Attempts for the *Reformation of Man-
 ners*, must raise very strong Suspicions, either
 that they mean no very good Church, or that
 they Themselves are no very good Men.

A Design of Reformation and to put a Stop
 to the Impudence of Vice, that boldly bids
 Defiance to all the Laws of our Country, as
 well as the Laws of God, justly claims the
 Countenance and Encouragement of all Ver-
 tuous Men, and all who wish well to the
 Peace and Happiness of the Nation; But
 certainly there is the highest Reason to expect
 from the *Reverend Clergy*, all the Help and
 Assistance they can give; that They will rea-
 dily join their Hearts and Hands, and im-
 prove all the Advantages their Sacred
 Character gives them, not only upon all Ac-
 counts Common to other Men, but especially
 as tis so much their proper Business, and the
 great Aim of their Holy Office. 'Tis for the
 same End these *Virtuous Societies* propose to
 Promote in another Way, that they have the
 Character of *Watch-men*; to speak in the Name
 of God, to warn the Wicked of his Wicked
 Way, and save his Life: Of *Overseers*, to
 take heed to themselves and to all the Flock;
 to feed the Church of God which he hath pur-
 chased with his own Blood: Of *Stewards* of
 the

8 *An ADDRESS to the*

the Mystery of God, *holding forth* the faithful Word as they have been taught, that they may be able, by sound Doctrine, both to *exhort* and *convince* the Gainsayers; to convince Men and bring them to *consent* to the Words of our Lord Jesus Christ; and the *Doctrine which is according to Godliness*. 'Tis the more effectually to carry on the same useful and necessary Design, They are commissioned in speaking of these Things to *exhort and Rebuke with all Authority*; to enforce and Strengthen their Exhortations with the highest Authority of Almighty God; the awful Powers of another World, and all the Engagement which the Love and Benefits of the Saviour of Men, can lay them under.

As these are the Characters, this the proper Business of all the Ministers of the Christian Religion, it plainly appears they have one and the same General Design with these Societies, however distinct and different the Ways may be, wherein they mutually concur with Each Other, to attain it. And may they not reasonably expect from the Care and Sincerity, which so strictly belongs to a religious Character, they shall always find them Ready and Zealous to support so Excellent a Design, and help by their Doctrine and frequent Exhortations to make it effectual.

And there is still greater Reason for this, because so great a Part of the *Doctrines* of Christianity do immediately regard the Reformation of Mankind; and all of them have it finally in their View, as one of the Principal Ends and Designs of the whole. Their Judgment and Understanding in the Religion

Religion they publickly teach, will lead them most frequently to inculcate on Men's Minds those Parts of it which most frequently occur in the Sacred Writings, and with a Zeal proportionate to their Weight. They will let them know, That every one who names the Name of Christ, is to depart from Iniquity: That the End of the Commandment is Charity, out of a pure Heart, and of a good Conscience, and Faith unfeigned; knowing that the Law is not made for a righteous Man, but for the Lawless and Disobedient, for the Ungodly and for Sinners, for the Unholy and Profane, &c.

Whenever they explain the common Faith of Christians, how can they omit putting them in mind, whom they would faithfully instruct, That Faith without Works is dead; and letting them see in the Example of Abraham, How Faith wrought with his Works, and by Works was Faith made perfect; and fairly acquainting them, Tho' they have all Faith, so that they could remove Mountains, and have no Charity, (that Love which is the fulfilling of the Law) they are nothing? Whenever they warm the Hopes of their Hearers, and set before them the glorious Prospect of an happy Immortality, and eternal Life; will they not at the same time tell them, That this Hope belongs to them who by patient Continu-

Continued

ance in Well-doing seek for Glory, and Honour, and Immortality. Will they not take the Advantage, so strong and prevalent a Motive gives them, to animate all who have such a Hope in them to behave as becomes themselves in such a Character, and with such an Expectation; to purify themselves as he is pure: And according to the Instructions the Grace of God which bringeth Salvation, teaches, That denying Ungodliness and

Worldly Lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present World, looking for that blessed Hope, and the glorious Appearance of the Great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ?

Whenever they open to their View any thing of the Perfection or *Happiness* of that blessed State and Place where they are to enjoy the Promise of eternal Life, can they forget 'tis a Place wherein dwelleth *Happiness*; and that there shall in no wise enter into it any thing that defileth, neither whatsoever worketh *Abomination*. When on the other Hand, They awaken Men's just Concern in the Apprehension of everlasting and insupportable Misery; will they not faithfully tell them, That this *Wrath of God is reveal'd against Unrighteousness*: That the *Fearful, and Unbelieving, and the Abominable, and Murderers, and Whoremongers, and Sorcerers, and Idolators, and all Lyers, shall have their Portion in the Lake which burneth with Fire and Brimstone, which is the second Death*. Thus as all the weighty Principles of Christianity, and warmest Motives of our Religion, center all in this; To discourage and dissuade all Wickedness and Vice, to encourage and promote all Holiness and Virtue. They who are engag'd in the Work of *Reformation*, may reasonably promise themselves a great deal of Help from all the good Impressions the pious Eloquence of the Clergy can make upon their Hearers Minds: And especially as they have it in Charge from the great Preacher and Apostle, *This is a faithful Saying, and these Things I will that thou affirm constantly, That they who have believed in God should be careful to maintain good Works: These Things are good and profitable unto Men*; and have the highest and most honourable Precedents all along.

along, *Noah*, the first Preacher of Righteousness, warned the old World of their general Corruption: Just *Lot* was vexed with the filthy Conversation of wicked *Sodom*: The Prophets are every where fired with a sacred Zeal against the Immoralities of the *Jews*: The holy *Apostle's* Spirit was moved within him at the stupid Idolatry of the *Athenians*: The Son of God himself, the *Apostle and High Priest* of our Profession, never appear'd so severe, as against open Profanation and scandalous Vices of Men pretending to Religion.

A vigorous Promoting the Reformation of Manners would be a considerable Means to lessen the Occasion of the more severe Parts of the Discipline of the Church, and has a Tendency to restore and strengthen it. The Want of a *Godly Discipline*, as in the Primitive Times, is once a Year lamented. But what would you do? Suspend and Excommunicate the greater Part of the Parish? There's no room for Discipline, where Vice has the Majority by so many Odds; and if it were to be Impartial, the Minister must be sordidly attended. Corruption is too epidemical, and you don't know where it will end. The Fear of sending People to the *Dissenters*, I doubt is but a Pretence; for, If I am rightly inform'd, they exercise a stricter Discipline than the Church; and would not be likely to receive one who has pass'd the Churches Censures for Immorality, without Evidence of Repentance.

The lesser Causes of Excommunication, such as Non-Appearance upon Citation, not submitting to the Injunctions of the Court for Costs of Suit and Proctors Fees, Striking in a Church, &c. will hardly be thought Matters

for which Men should be *given to the Devil*: For those which may be thought more nearly to endanger the Soul; as *Incontinence, Perjury, Idolatry, &c.* the best Way to prevent them, is to assist in the Work of *Reformation of Manners*. 'Tis *Vice*, as often as *Free Thinking*, which leads Men into *Heresy*. You have often told us from the Pulpit, That Men first contract vitious Habits, and then seek out for Principles to support them; and there is many a Man, who, had his Manners been reform'd, his Passions regular, and Lusts subdu'd, would never have gone into those Opinions which were necessary for the Ease of his Mind; and which he would never have maintain'd if he had not needed them, and were more needful to him as a vitious Man, than decisive of his heretical Character.

It must be the Burden of your Souls to excommunicate Persons, whom you really think to be thereby turned out of the Kingdom of God. It must be more so still, if upon Reflection you discern, That the Sentence might have been prevented, by assisting more early to reform their Manners. *Prevention is better than Cure*; and the Maxim is still more regardable, where the Method of Cure has something in it extremely painful; *For the Destruction of the Flesh, that the Spirit may be saved in the Day of the Lord*. I know the Head of Excommunication and Discipline is a common Topick of Raillery, and lies too open to it: But who are the Men that treat it with Contempt as a *Brutum fulmen*, and are ready to say, *Deliver us from the Saylor*, (who indeed has no more Part or Lot in this Matter by the Laws of the Gospel, than *Simon Magus* had in the

the Holy Ghost) *and we'll venture the Devil?* Who are the Despisers even of all that is serious in it, but those whom your selves have not assisted to reform?

You often complain from the Pulpit, and very justly too, of the Number of those who, like the *Philistine*, defy the Living God, laugh at Religion, insult you and your Ministry: Help us to reform these Men's vicious Lives, or cease to complain of their Outrage. You may Preach and Write to Perpetuity, and Think and Speak with Accuracy and Eloquence; you may go on to do so long enough, for any thing I see, unless by helping on the *Reformation*, you dispose Men to some tolerable Capacity of being the better for what you say. Other Endeavours to reform the World will still be, I fear, without this among the *Labour's in vain*. The *White Sheet* comes too late, after inordinate Lusts, Sensuality and Lewdness, have put Men upon getting rid of such Principles as would not let them be easy. To turn Men out of the Church, will be no Heart-breaking Thing to them who never cared to come into it; and to be kept from the Sacrament, no very great Affliction to one that would not come at it but for his Commission, and then you must look to it how you refuse him.

There is, indeed, a Canon in the Church which obliges Ministers to keep off the notoriously Wicked: * *No Minister shall in anywise admit to the Receiving the Holy Communion any of his Cure or Flock, which he openly knows to live in Sin without Repentance, nor any who have maliciously and openly contended with their Neighbours,*
until

* Can. 26.

until they shall be reconciled. Nor any Churchwarden or Sidesman, who having taken their Oaths to present to their Ordinary all such publick Offences as they are particularly charged to enquire of in their severall Parishes, (notwithstanding their said Oaths, and that their faithful Discharge of them is the chief Means whereby publick Sins and Offences may be reformed and punished) wittingly and willingly, desperately and irreligiously, incur the horrible Crime of Perjury, either in neglecting or refusing to prevent such of the said Enormities and publick Offences, as they know themselves to be committed in their said Parishes, &c. It would make such Injunctions sit more easy upon them, and be more consistent, and less needful, if every Clergyman who is thus obliged, by his Diligence towards Reformation in his Parish, should be able to shew, there are none such who are notoriously Wicked.

I own if exact Presentations were made according to the Canon, they are bound by the Present Constitution to carry them into the Spiritual Courts, and what becomes of them when they are lodg'd there, all the World knows. 'Tis the Grief and Complaint of the Vertuous Clergy, that instead of imposing suitable Penances, Money shall be extorted, by those who have shewn, that 'tis not only in *Italy*, that Indulgences are set to sale; but among the Reformed too, Men may be allowed to ruin their Souls, and go to Hell very quietly, if they will but pay Tole at a certain Place for their Passage.

The Magistrate's punishing open Vice, and the Societies formed to assist him in it, can never be thought an Encroachment upon the Church's *Pecullum*, since the Magistrate
only

only considers these Things as *affecting the Publick Good*: And as Members of the Civil Community, that Publick Good is what you wish for too, and are equally bound to contribute to as much as you can in your own Station. You indeed are not to rest here, but aim at something farther; to exalt Mens Principles and Motives into a Religious Quality, and carry their Views into another World as much as you can: 'Tis in this Light I would always read that Part of the Form of Ordaining Priests; * *Wherefore consider with your selves the End of your Ministry towards the Children of God, towards the Spouse and Body of Christ, and see that you never cease your Care, Labour and Diligence, till you have done all that lieth in you according to your bounden Duty, to bring all such as are or shall be committed to your Charge, unto that Agreement in Faith and Knowledge of God, and to that Ripeness and Perfection of Age in Christ, that there be no Place left among you, either of Error in Religion or VITI-
TIOUSNESS OF LIFE.*

You must assist us in the Reformation, not only that Sacred Administrations may be the more Effectual, but less Burdensome to your own Minds: For according to the Doctrine of the Church, Unreformed and Notorious Sinners have no Right at all to partake of the Sacrament: She appoints the Curate to † *advertise and admonish such as these, that in any wise they presume not to come; no not in || any wise, tho' a Commission depends upon it.* In her Exhortation she tells us, that it is to be administred only to those who are *Devoutly and Religiously*

* Sparrow, p. 125. † Rub. Com. || Exh. before Com.

Religiously disposed. And if any who do not repent of their Sins, but live in them without Amendment, come to the Communion, it does nothing else but * *increase their Damnation.* And we are told, that Persons who live in Variance and Contention, or in any known Sin, must not be admitted, because 'tis *contrary to the Communion of the Body and Blood of Christ*, and that such Persons *Drink Damnation to Themselves.* i. e. as the Church explains it, † *Diseases, Death, and the Wine of Gods Wrath.* Is it not Matter of the deepest concern to see Men guilty of the highest Impurity, thrusting forward to the Holy Communion, who ought rather to be driven from it? Some who but a few Hours before were venturing their Lives in the Quarrel of a Strumpet; Others who spent the last Night in Revelling and Drunkeness; Others who just before the Communion were Belching out Oaths and Curses, and soon after the Benediction is pronounced, will pour out whole VOLLIES of them again; must it not be with a Passionate Grief that a Good Minister sees the Holy Bread and Wine touched by such polluted Hands, and unhallowed Mouths, especially when there is reason to fear, as the Church directs, * *lest the Devil should enter into them as he did into Judas, to fill them full of all Iniquity and bring them to Destruction of Body and Soul.* And while you have any Regard to the Honour of God Almighty, the Purity of his Sacrament, and the real good of Mens Souls, you must needs apprehend it Necessary to assist in reforming the Manners of Men, and that we may not always

* Q. Eliz. Injun. apud Sparrow, p. 711.

† Exh. before Commun. * Ibid.

always lye under the severe Reflection which the A. B. of *Spalato* once passed upon us, *That he saw nothing reformed among us but our Doctrine*

'Tis to be hoped the Laws will ease you of one Occasion of burdensome Reflection on this Point, and that you will concur towards the easing your own Minds as to others, by such a Reformation as may leave none of such a Character to shelter Themselves under, and pollute your Altars: And without this the nicest Compositions and the fiercest Zeal, will scarce be sufficient to support the Church: It will stand as tottering as the *Ark of God* did formerly in *Uzzah's Cart*; for rather than not *make Provision for the flesh to fulfill the Lusts thereof*, They'll turn our very Churches into Taverns, and Drink Wine like *Belshazzar* with his Concubines in the *Bowels of the Temple*: And as much as we abhor the Remembrance of their being heretofore turned into Stables, they will then be filled with the worse Sort of Beasts of the two.

There is nothing more Desirable in it self, or more Necessary to the Common Interest, then Union among Protestants: It comes now recommended to us from the *Throne* with a wise and generous Concern, and 'tis certainly the Duty and Interest of all the Ministers of the *Prince of Peace* to echo to the Royal Voice, and pursue so Noble a Design. We may learn the proper *Methods* from our Enemies. The Steps they take to Destroy the Reformation will suggest the Counter Methods in which we must disappoint them. Now the chief of their Engines is to *divide* and *debauch* us; to set us together by the Ears, and ruin our Morals. And these Engines help Each other in their Operation. By dividing and Engaging us in fierce Contentions,

tions, they bring on a Neglect of Morality, and make us first Cold to Each other and then Fierce and Cruel. 'Tis an easy, tho' I cannot say a just Inference, that if Men of Vertue and Sobriety, and great Pretenders to Religion, shall tear and worry one Another with a Scandalous Rudeness, and brutish Rage; a good natur'd Sot or Sensualist, who does no body any Harm, and only pursues his Pleasures at his own Cost, acts his Part with the greater Innocence of the two. In the Heat of an angry Dispute a favourite Opinion or Practice looks so Considerable and is tho't so Important, that Mens Vices are overlooked and countenanced, if they can be brought into the Service and made to promote it; and to the infinite Scandal of the Reformation and hardening Multitudes in their Sins, a Debauchee or an Atheist, who never owns a God, but by Swearing profanely by his Name, passes for a Christian, and is thought a support of a Christian and Divine Establishment.

On the other Hand, Corruption of Manners has a manifest Influence to widen and perpetuate our *Differences*. A loose and sensual Mind will always have a secret Enmity at Religion and Reformation, tho' a loose and Debauched Life is only at open Defiance with it; and such Men will easily fall in with any thing to stop the Progress of it, and run eagerly into needless Disputes, which are always found so fatal to it. Perhaps they sometimes find their own Account in other Peoples Quarrels and serve themselves of the Passions and Follies of those about them: Thus Worldly Politicians, who have a secret Contempt of all Religion, can yet manage a religious Contention with great Dexterity, to reach their wretched Ends. Many Vices have a natural Tendency to
 enflame

enflame Mens Passions, and kindle Resentment and Rage; and they who hate all the Ties of real Religion, and yet cannot raze out all religious Impressions from their Minds, will easily fall into such Measures as they think will atone for their Crimes, and compound for their other Enormities. 'Tis easy for a Head inflamed with Wine or Lust, to get into a feavourish Zeal for a Phantome or a Shadow, and run upon all of a different Mind with fierce Indignation and Rage. 'Tis commonly seen in religious Quarrels, those of the least Religion, as well as Knowledge, are the most furious *Zealots*, while the wise and Good, have larger Views and are more Temperate in disputable Matters. Every one knows that Corruption of Manners was always thought the likeliest Expedient to make Men sit loose to their Principles, and prepare the Way to a foreign Religion; and those of our *Princes* who discovered the greatest Inclination to *Papery*, have shewed the least Regard to the Virtue and *Morality* of the People, and the greatest Readiness to humour and indulge their Vices. n. b.

The Corruption of our Morals is at present the great Disturber of our Quiet; the great Divider of *Protestants*, and the most mischievous Instrument of our religious Quarrels: Could our Vices be suppress'd, our Passions would cool, and our Quarrels cease; we should again look upon one another with Kindness, and shew a more general Regard to the common Good; mutual Conversation and Acquaintance together, would abate our Prejudices, and soften our Minds. If our Zeal was united in an hearty Opposition to the common Enemy of all Religion, we should scarce be at Variance about lesser Matters, in which we might happen to differ: For 'tis not *Disagreement*

in Opinion, but *Discord* and *Contention* about it, which does the Mischief, and lays us open to our common Enemies, who have then found us an easy Prey to themselves, when they had first engaged us in Quarrels among our selves. Nothing would be more effectual to unite the Lovers of Piety and Vertue, than an hearty Concurrence in this glorious Design; because 'tis what they are all agreed in already, and would so naturally tend to bring them nearer to one another. And shall the Ministers of *Peace* and Asserters of *Unity*, need to be entreated to bear their Part, or even set the Example of a well-temper'd Zeal in so good a Matter! To shew themselves Lovers of Vertue, and Friends of Mankind, in the Interest of their Country and their Prince, and the Strength and Glory of the Church?

They who bear a sincere Affection to Religion, and the Ministers of it, cannot but desire your Zeal in this Service, because they apprehend it so great a Means of retrieving the *Respect* due to the *Sacred Order*, and silencing the Reproaches which ill Men are ready to throw upon it. They can't see how Clergymen can be unconcern'd, without betraying their Trust, or so much as cool, without Scandal; because nothing is so opposite to the Interests of their Master as Vice and Prophaness; and seem to have a Right to conclude, That *he who is not with them*, in this Matter, *is against them*, and can hardly be esteem'd a Friend of Christ's Religion.

You cannot but be sensible, Gentlemen, there is no Way so effectual to *magnify your Office*, as a vigorous Pursuit of the proper Ends of it; and nothing certainly can have an odder Aspect, than for those whose very Office is to be Reformers of Men, to discountenance any regular Endeavour

yours to promote the same End. If People see a Clergyman all a Fire in Defence of an abstruse Speculation, in behalf of the Power of the Church, or a meer Ceremony, which has not any intrinsic Goodness in it, but cold and indifferent in the Support of Vertue and indisputable Goodness; how is it possible to escape the Reproaches of the People? The least which can be said, is, "That such a Man acts quite out of Character:" And there is no Way to prevent others from going farther, and saying, That he's more in earnest for securing a servile Dependance upon the Priesthood, than for the Honour of his Master, or the Good of Mankind in both Worlds. n. b.

You often attack Vice with great Eloquence and Strength in your publick Discourses; but I doubt these will rather be turn'd upon you, than be serviceable to the Interests of Vertue, if you should be observ'd to discountenance the Magistrate in his Endeavours to restrain the Exorbitance of Vice; or fail to excite him to his Duty in that which is undoubtedly his Province by Consent of All, as the Patron of the Publick Good: Especially if you should discover a Readiness at the same Time to call in his Assistance in Matters of less Consequence, and where your selves have a more immediate Interest, and in Cases wherein at least it is not so clear that the Magistrate has an Authority.

As you are for the most Part liberally supported by the Publick, and have a large Share in the Revenues of the Community; 'tis suppos'd that you are a very beneficial Part of it, and capable by your Influence of a great deal of Service to it: And without Question you are so, by the Rank you hold, the Character you bear, the Opportunities you have of being heard and regarded

garded by all Sorts of People, and the Learning and Good Sense you are Masters of. But allow me to say, That People will not fail to make invidious Reflections, should Clergymen appear so unconcern'd, I say not now for the Honour of their Master, but the Good of the Community, to which they are under so many Engagements, as not to countenance and forward all the Ways they can, the Societies for Reformation.

On the other Hand, Your Zeal for Reformation would secure Respect both from Good and Ill Men. Next to Integrity of Mind, nothing is more highly esteem'd among the truly Good, than Zeal for unquestionable Goodness; to be Leaders and Guides of others in Paths of Difficulty; and encourage and animate every virtuous Attempt: And 'tis the strongest Appeal to the Conscience of ill Men, and always fixes a secret Reverence, even where it don't extort an open Acknowledgment. This would raise the Credit of the Clergy to a greater Height, and make all their Honours thought reasonable and deserv'd: They would be esteem'd the great Patrons, as well as Examples of Virtue, and the Blessing and Delight of the Christian World.

I only ask a Moment's Patience of this *Venerable Body* for a single Suggestion farther: The Success of Preaching depends so much upon the Temper of the Hearers; that nothing is more remarkable than the different Effects of it, according to the different Disposition of the Subject. The same Good Seed in the Parable, miscarry'd upon the *Stony Ground*, and among *Thorns*, and by the *Way Side*, which took Root, and became fruitful upon the *Good Ground*; a kindly and proper Soil; which is explain'd by an *honest and good Heart*. The Vertuous and Well-disposed among the *Jews*, who liv'd up to the Dispensation they were under, and maintain'd the Expectation of the *Messiah*, were mightily dispos'd to receive the Christian Doctrine: And we find the *Pride and Prejudice*, the *Covetousness and Oppression* of the *Scribes and Pharisees*, lead them to reject the Doctrine of the Gospel, preach'd

preach'd by Christ himself and his Apostles. And among the *Gentiles*, as many as were *ordin'd to eternal Life*, believ'd, i. e. prepar'd and set in order for it: They who were sober-minded, and sincerely desirous to know the Truth, readily entertain'd and embrac'd it.

Immorality and Wickedness of Life will always indispose and prejudice the Mind against the best Endeavours for their Good. Open and profligate Sinners seldom attend the Publick Worship, and live in the ordinary Neglect of all the Offices of Religion: They are easily detained and diverted from paying any Regard to the *wise* and *rational* Discourses for their Conviction; the warm and serious *Exhortations* to Holiness, which are best fitted to impress their Minds and dispose them to Vertue. The accurate Pains and earnest Concern of the pious Clergy is totally lost to such Men who are not only out of the Reach, but out of the Hearing of it too. And it may well strike any serious Mind with a frightful Horror, That the proper Season of Divine Worship is, to many purposes of Wickedness, thought *the more convenient Season*; and the Leisure and Retirement of others for the Service of God, to favour and countenance their own Violence and Excesses: And how many at the *Gallows* date their Ruine from Neglects and Prophanation of the Lord's-Day.²

Or if they are led by Custom or Fashion, or any Circumstance of Convenience to the Publick Worship, their Vices and Wickedness *indispose* them to due Attendance, or to receive the proper Advantage; they are uneasy under the Means of their own Conviction, and what has the greatest Tendency to awaken and reclaim them, raises the greatest Opposition and Dislike: *Every one who doth evil, hateth the Light; neither cometh to the Light, lest his Deeds should be reprov'd.* This leads Men to so much Irreverence and Neglect, to such scandalous Indifference, and even Wantonness of Behaviour in the House of God, to the great Reproach of religious Assemblies, and Grief of pious Minds. This fills them with Vanity and Prejudice in the most solemn Service, fortifies them against any Impression

Impression of Goodness, and disposes them to the meanest Cavils, and to sport with the smallest Mistakes. So the excellent Labours of the Ministers of Religion are as effectually defeated, with respect to many who are present, as to those who are absent, and perhaps they are the less criminal of the two.

But now effectual Restraints upon open Wickedness, reducing Men to common Sobriety, making Vice odious and unfashionable, discountenancing and punishing it when it grows incorrigible, would be found an happy Expedient to prepare Men for Attendance to religious Offices, and receive the spiritual Benefit of them. Then we might hope to see our Churches and Altars more frequented; a visible Face of Reverence and Devotion in all the Parts of Divine Service; and a greater Effect of Good in the Lives of Men: That the Golden Age should be restored to the Christian World, and that blessed State, the *new Heavens and new Earth wherein dwelleth Righteousness*, commence: That Purity and Love should prevail and triumph over Vice and Uncharitableness; and our *Jerusalem* become the *Praise* and the *Pattern* of all the pious Earth, and a lively Emblem of the *New Jerusalem* which is *Above*.

Upon the Whole; I can't imagine it is more properly the Business of the *Christian Magistrate*, than 'tis of the *Clergy*, to promote Reformation of Manners, tho' the Reason of their Concern is different; and they have a mutual Subserviency to one another, the *Magistrate*, by punishing open Wickedness, prepares Men to receive the Benefit of their Instructions; and the Instructions of the *Clergy* render their Authority the more regarded, and their Corrections the more effectual. I leave this *Excuse* for the boldest Venture I ever made, with this *solemn Protest*, That it may meet with no Acceptance, if 'tis not sincerely directed to serve the greatest Good.

F I N I S.

T H E
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II. N U M B. XI.

L E T T E R S
TO THE
A U T H O R.

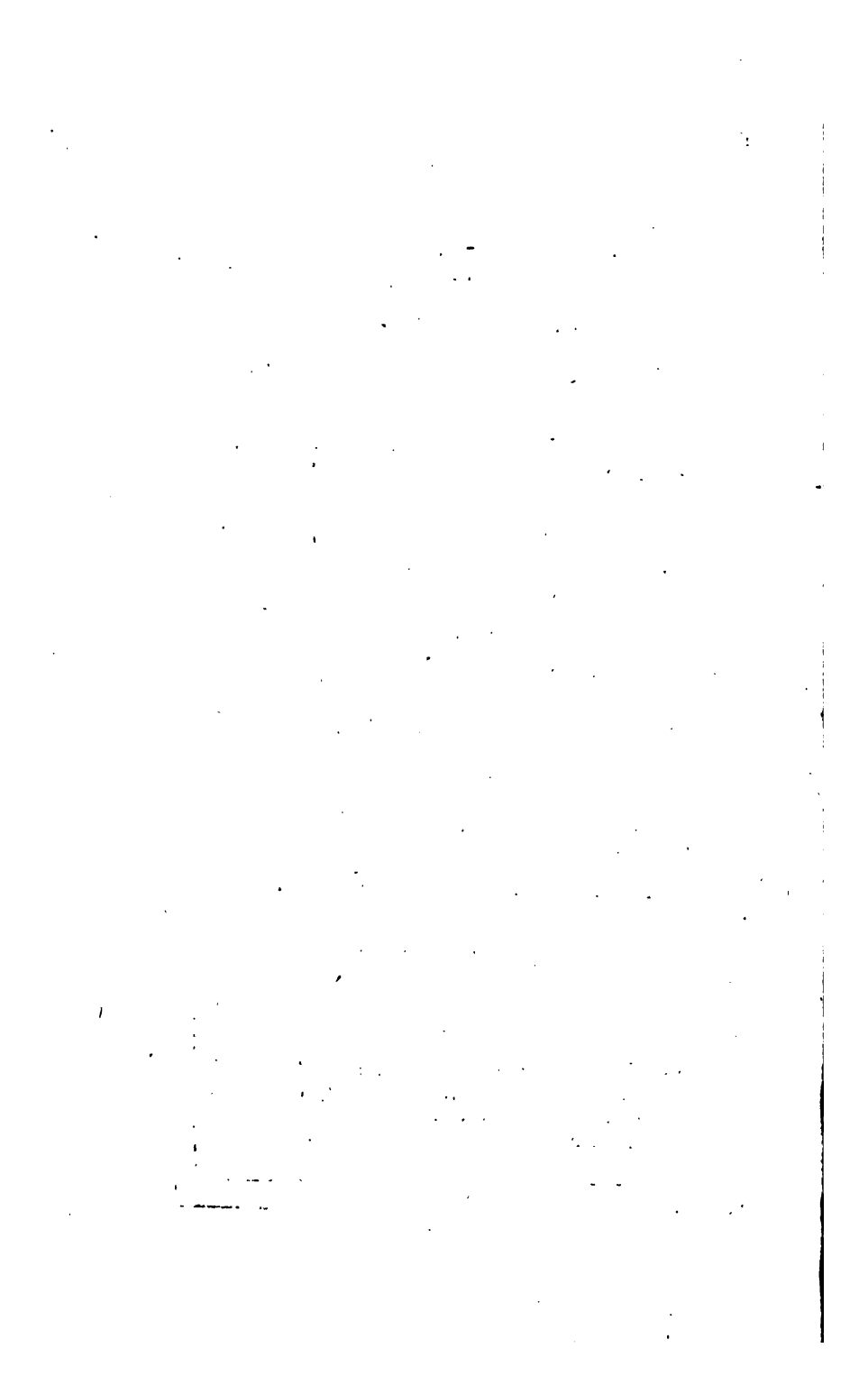
CONTAINING
Some REMARKS on the follow-
ing Pamphlets, *viz.*

- I. The Church of *England* Man's Memorial:
Or the History of Comprehension and
Toleration.
- II. Dr. *Cannon's* Vindication of the Proceed-
ings of the Lower House of Convocation.
- III. Dr. *Dawson's Suspiria Sacra.*

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valuable Contributions to the Design inserted here, will not reckon themselves neglected because they are postpon'd, to make room for those of a fresher Date in the following Collection ; since these are upon Subjects, that engage the present Attention of most People who are conversant with Letters, or Lovers of their Country.



I. To the Author of the Occasional Paper.

S I R,

Jan. 10. 1717-18.

THERE is a Pamphlet lately come out, call'd, *The Church of England Man's Memorial ; Or the History of Comprehension and Toleration ;* which it is wish'd you would take some Notice of. Not that I am apprehensive of its needing such a Pen as yours to answer it, but that it requires such an Opportunity as you have of Exposing it more Effectually to the World, than an unexperienced and private Writer could pretend to do. The Man seems to be in a mighty *Passion* ; He is perfectly raving at the Thought of the *Sectaries* being admitted to Serve the *State* ; and in such a dreadful Fright for the *Establish'd Church*, that He has nothing before his Eyes but *Destruction, inevitable Destruction*, if any Dissenter should ever be allow'd to bear a *Civil Office*. This *flaming furious Piece* was occasion'd, by what one would expect should have had a more *gracious Effect* ; even by His Majesty's late

late most Gracious Speech, as he tells us in his Title. He seems outrageous, that Grace should be Extended to *Any but Rebels, and Nonjurors*: And in this *Fit* the Man has Confidence enough to propose his *Rants* to the Consideration of *Both Houses of Parliament*. And trusting that He has to do with People who know as little of *History* as Himself, He holds up to their Noses in his Title Page Quotation, a Passage of *Heylin's*, that almost every other *History* contradicts, and that has been confuted from the most Authentic Accounts, and by the best Writers over and over. } n.b.

The Quotation runs thus, *Let us remember that those who now cry out so loudly for Birth-right, and Liberty of Conscience, are the Spawn of that Old Crew, who caus'd these Nations to swim in Blood.*

—Pray let this Memorialist know from One that is acquainted with as many *Dissenters* as He seems to be with *Nonjurors*, that the warmest of the *Dissenters* amongst my Acquaintance, are such as are come off from the Church of England; and who have been the more effectually riveted in their Dissention by such wretched Writings as his: Whilst many of those, who have lately acted at the Head of this *Historian's Faction*, are the *Spawn*, and *Descendants* of that *Old Crew*, *Heylin* speaks of. As for *Causing these Nations to swim in Blood*, I wish you would inform this doughty *Historian*, from one of the best *Histories* extant in the *English Language*, (I mean *Rushworth's Collections*;) That the first Foundation and Spring of our after *Miseries*, and *Blood-shed*, was the *King's marrying a Daughter of France*, and *Signing private Articles* in favour of the *Ca-*

D^r Drake
a celebrated
Physician.

Catholicks *; and all along proceeding more upon their Counsels, and for their Interest, than was Consistent with the Safety of a Protestant Nation †. Tell him it was owing to the wicked Managements of such *Favourites* as *Buckingham*, and his Adherents: and to the Preaching of such *Priests* as *Manwaring* and *Sibthorp*: Tell him it was owing to a *Star-Chamber* and *High Commission Court*; and in my Lord *Clarendon's* own Words, to *unjust Projects of all kinds, that were set on Foot*. Pray put this Man in mind of the *Irish Massacre*, when he would point at those who made these Nations swim in Blood: And once more repeat to him, what has so often been mention'd, the Words of the *Parliaments Declarations*, when there were not above four of the *Seſſaries* in the House: 'That from the beginning of his Majesty's Reign there had been a malignant and pernicious Design of Subverting the Fundamental Laws and Principles of Government, upon which the Religion and Justice of the Kingdom was Establish'd.

As to Sequestering all loyal Gentlemen and Orthodox Divines of their Estates, and taking away many of their Lives; Pray, if your Paper will allow a Place for it, insert my Lord Digby's Speech out of *Rushworth's Collections*. Part III. p. 172. With some of the most material Passages in the Proceedings against Archbishop *Laud* and others, and let all the Tyranny, and the Provocations that led on to such Severities be plac'd in their proper Light.

* *Rushworth's Collections*. Vol. I. p. 169.

† p. 173. 174, p. 181, 182, &c.

And then to the last Part of the Quotation, *tearing asunder every Limb of our Antient Constitution, and murdering the King himself*: Desire him to observe how one Limb was torn off after another from the Constitution, by Popish, and High Church Managements, for above twelve Years before Things came to that Extremity he speaks of. If the Constitution had not first been torn to Pieces by the Tories of those times, the *Sectaries* could never have got into Power as they afterwards did. Tho' in reality, to do the Chief of the *Sectaries* Justice, (if one may set the Authority of a Bishop and a renowned Historian against the Quotation of this trifling angry Story-teller) 'The "*Church of England* hath ever witnessed her "*Detestation of these Practices and Principles,* "*(deposing or murdering Kings) and shared* "*deeply in the Sufferings of their King *—* "*and many of the most considerable Dissenters* "*did even then, when it was not so safe to do* "*it as it is now, openly declare against it* "*both in their Sermons, and Writings."* And that the Charge may lye where it truly deserves to lye, pray desire this *Church of Englandman's Remembrancer* to read what is said by the same Author, concerning this being a *Popish Principle and Practice*. Desire him also to consult what is just now publish'd, by a Member of the last Convocation, [*Dr. Snape Instructed*] where he will find the *Jesuits* and their *Tools* the chief Promoters of that *Tragedy*. †

* *Bishop Burnet's Sermon, Jan. 30. 1680.*

† P. 74, 75.

Let but the *Title Page* of This Pretending Author be thus expos'd ; and I believe you will think it unnecessary to trouble your self with the *Book*. All the railing Accusations he brings against the *Sectaries*, however they might belong to 'em in former Days, yet are now only so many *Satyrs* upon the High Church Faction : Who have made themselves, beyond all that ever went before them, Remarkable, for loading our best Patriots and Church Men too, with such bitter *Invectives*, and abominable *Lyes*, as none but the grand Calumniator could furnish them withal. Whilst *Rebels*, and *Regicides*, *Schismatics* and *Enthusiasts* are their only *Saints* *. The Common-Place of Railing and Scandal, by changing a few Words, will fit one as well as another ; and, to an ill-natur'd Man, is the easiest way of Writing in the World. But such is the Folly of those Fellows that have us'd themselves to it, they are not able to forbear throwing their *Dirt*, tho' the *Wind* be turn'd against them, and drive it all back upon Themselves, instead of *Bespattering* Others. 'Tis really pleasant to observe how some of these stupid Writers are libelling Themselves and their own Friends, whilst they are blackening the *Rebels* about fourscore Years ago. For of whom can such Things as those more truly be said than of the present disaffected Party ; that *They are silent and crafty when overpowered*, † but loud and cruel when they prevail : *Lambs when they list, and Lions when they can* ?

* *The Church of England Man's Memorial*, p. 11.

† P. 17.

Thus

Thus might one half of that Pamphlet be retorted with the greatest Justice in the World: And considering how generally People are acquainted with our present Rebels, and how few trouble Themselves with what was done an Age ago; I cannot but think this way of Writing will do more Injury to our *Author's Faction* than to the *Sectaries*: Such Mens own Iniquity, thus *Correcting* them.

The Contempt thrown by this *Instructor of the Parliament*, upon the first *Reformers*; his crying up Archbishop *Laud* as an *incomparable Prelate and Martyr*; while he reflects upon *Others*, whom he calls *Lecturing Divines* and *popular Prelates*; † and particularly, upon the present *Lord* ^{D^r Simon} *Bishop of Ely*,* for recommending the *Foreign Patrick*, *Divines* to his *Clergy*; and then his closing all, with such *Testimonials* for the *Church of England*, as would make her a Church by herself; these Things, I say, plainly shew what *Spirit* and *Party* the Man is of. He is of a Party that sets up for Government; and who will never allow any other Description of the *Church of England* but their own; nor believe that any thing but *inevitable Destruction* can be the Consequence of having their Measures cross'd. I doubt not but if this *Historian*, who also sets up for a *Prophet*, live a few Years, he will see his Predictions as much out of the way of Truth, as his History now is. And if his Heart be not broke before, a little time will shew him that there are greater *Heads* than his, and better *Governours* than such as He, now in the Nation.

† P. 36.

* P. 30.

Sir, If you should see fit to take publick Notice of this Letter, grant me only the Favour of inserting one Quotation, out of a Pamphlet I have mention'd before, and I think it will prove a full Antidote against the Poison of such Papers, as that which occasion'd this Letter. * *The Jesuits do all this [get to themselves the Instruction of Youth ; cry up the Authority of the Church above the Private Judgment of Men ; suggest and then fix the Imputation of Heresy ; write the most bitter Invektives and Satyrs against All they judge, or suspect to be their Adversaries ; with many other Things of the like Nature ;] not as a Religious Society, but as a Pragmatical and Potent Faction in the Church of Rome. And if any Body of Men, of any better Religion, had the same enterprising Spirit, and the same indefatigable Industry, and the same Chain of Interest and Adherence to one another ; they would be above the Heads of all their Fellow-Subjects ; they would contend with Princes ; they would make Prelates comply ; and be, Themselves the Church, or predominant Party in it. For tho' by the happy Constitution of our Reformed Church, there is less Liberty and less Advantage for any Set of Clergy to affect Dominion over others, and no Support of Principles to maintain it ; yet it may be natural for Men of Ambition to push and thrust forward in every Place, to form Themselves into a strenuous Body, to boast of their Numbers and the Force of them : To propagate*

* Dr. Snape *Instructed*, p. 79.

‘ strange Notions by the Dint of their own
‘ Authority ; to impose them upon the People
‘ under the *Sanction* of the *Church*, or in the
‘ *Name* of it: To magnify the Sovereign Pow-
‘ ers, when in Grace and good Humour with
‘ them; to oppose and resist them, when not
‘ gratify’d by them : To Work most upon the
‘ weaker Princes ; and to Court the People
‘ when *They* are easier to be deceiv’d: To lay
‘ dark Schemes at a distance, to let ’em run
‘ under Ground, and rise again, and sink a-
‘ gain as they please: To be one and all in
‘ pushing on a main Design, and making eve-
‘ ry Step subservient to it: To weaken the
‘ Obligations of *Oaths*, when they are pinch’d
‘ with the Tye of them; and to make them
‘ very tremendous, when they are given on
‘ their Side: To preach up Sedition when
‘ they are *out* of Favour, and absolute Obedi-
‘ ence when they are *in*: To drop their *old*
‘ Principles if they no longer serve their turn ;
‘ and yet to acknowledge no Change in
‘ Themselves ; To run down every Body that
‘ stands in their way, however Good or Great,
‘ and to applaud every sorry Creature that will
‘ become their Tool ; and to keep up a Ma-
‘ jority, at least among the Women and Boys.
‘ These Men, to whatever Protestant Church
‘ or Country they belong, are, according to
‘ their more impotent Condition, the very *Je-*
‘ *suits* of the Reformation.’ I am,

Sir, &c.

II. To the Author of the Occasional Paper.

S I R,

YOUR Writing in the Cause of Truth and Liberty without Regard to Party, has given me the Courage to send you a few Remarks upon Dr. Caanon's *Vindication of the Proceedings of the Lower-House of Convocation*. If you think them Reasonable, and at all Proper to either of those Purposes, I readily submit them to your Correction and Pleasure. I'm sure I can say, as I have not the Honour of any Personal Acquaintance with the Reverend Doctor; so I have no Reason for any Personal Disrespect, and design him no manner of Prejudice: I only use the same Liberty with his Book, which he does with Religion, *i. e.* to offer him some Thoughts upon it.

The Doctor begins with representing the Obligations the Clergy were under by the *Canons and Statutes* to regard the Supremacy.* And no Man can blame the Clergy's Zeal for the Royal Supremacy, especially in this Reign, if there were not Reason to think, their Zeal in this Matter was greater than their Discretion; in condemning a Sermon preach'd before the Supreme Ordinary, and Legal Head of the Church, and Publish'd by his Command and Approbation; for this is to make him a Civil *Felo de se*, and to conspire with the Bishop of Bangor against his own Supremacy. It

* P. 4, 5.

would have been a great deal more honourable if the Convocation had censured Dr. *Mauwaring's* Sermon before King Charles I. which magnified the Royal Supremacy beyond the Legal Bounds, and to the Prejudice of all the Subjects Rights; which yet was licensed by the Bishops, and met with Applause and Preference from the favoured and prevailing Party.

I think tis not to the Honour of a Protestant Church, or consistent with the Articles of Religion, to suppose any Canons to claim an absolute Authority over the Consciences of Men, in what relates to the Favour and Acceptance of God, and Eternal Salvation; which were only designed to order the outward Form of Religious Worship, and the regular Administration of Christ's Appointments.

If none express'd their *Doubts* of the evil Tendency of the Bishop's Sermon, or spoke a Word in its *Undisguise*, in Convocation: * I suppose it was not thought a proper Season when the Motion was first made. It would have been time enough when it had come again before the House, in order to be debated by Paragraphs. Tis unfairly insinuated that every Member of the House, or of the Committee, had but one Mind in the Matter; or to conclude from thence a general Concurrence and Consent. And tho' Truth would not have been determined by the Pole or a bare Majority of Votes, I can tell him as Wise and Learned as any who sit within those Walls, would have voted and spoke too on the Bishop's Side.

I'm afraid the Doctor may see so much said without Doors, as will find Work for the whole Committee, and for their whole Lives, to give a substantial Answer to.

I can assure him the *Temper* of the House has been represented † not much to its Advantage, by some who are *Members* of that House, as well as by those who are not; and if we may judge of it by the *Temper* of those who have writ in this Cause, the Doctor has no Reason to boast. We without Doors cannot but think it had been but a *decent* Return in Doctor Cannon to the Bishop for the *Civility* of the Sermon sent him, privately to have hinted the Offence taken at it, before he had either proposed or joined in a Publick Censure. I hope for the sake of the Church, all the *Decency* they glory in, is not of a Piece with this.

I agree with the Doctor, Their receding from the *Principal Branch* of their first Charge, was a greater Instance of their Impartiality, than of the Honesty or Penetration of those who drew it up: i. e. That the Tendency of the Bishop's Doctrine was to set at nought, and make void the Institutions and Ordinances of *Christ*; the thing in all the World, the most diametrically opposite to the Design and Expression of the whole Sermon.

I can tell the Doctor of National Churches in the World very well supported,* where such Authority of the Civil Magistrate as the Bishop opposes, is not pretended to or allowed. Nor can I believe 'tis in the Power

2^d Clergy

† P. 9.

* P. 10, 11.

of all the Sanctions of this World to *support Religion in the Essentials of it*: i. e. to make Men sincere in the Profession and Practice of true Religion: Unless he thinks Sincerity not Essential. And if there is such a Power as he contends for *inseparable from every Imperial Crown*; I ask, Whether this will not necessarily spread and maintain Superstition: and effectually keep out Christianity where it has not yet obtain'd, the most Sovereign Remedy against all Superstition!

How carefully soever the Doctor flatters himself to have watched against what might *disturb his Judgment*, † it seems too plain, the Pique against the Bishop he acknowledges to have had some time before the Sermon was Preached, has not a little influenced him in his Conduct in this Affair, both in and out of Convocation. Had he seen no other Books published of late, which had as plainly, to say the least, asserted, ‡ *The Clergy have a Right to exercise Jurisdiction, otherwise than by, under, and from the Legal Authority*? Dr. Hicke's numerous Tracts, and every thing publish'd by the *Non-jurors*, do almost in express Words, *weaken, make vile, and set at nought the Supremacy*, and not only by remote Consequence, as the Bishop's Sermon is charged with doing. While all those are pass'd by, and the Bishop only mark'd out for Censure, the Doctor must excuse me if I think something else weighed more with him, than his Regards to the Supremacy: tho' I care not if I allow, that he

† P. 16. 17.

‡ 42.

expresses more Concern for this said Superstition, than for any one the most Important Truths of the Gospel. I have known before now the displacing a Prime Minister, disappoint the Hopes of Ambitious Men, and give as odd a Turn of Mind, and as strange a Disgust as this.

'Tis a surprizing Complaint of the Bishop, that he *never thought the Arguments of his Adversary good and convincing*: Why then 'tis a Sign he believes himself, and is a fair and honest Adversary. Would he have him write against People, whose Arguments he thought *good and convincing*? That were only to Cavil and Wrangle; to fight Prizes in Controversy; and to write not for Truth, but Contention Sake. And tis pretty particular here, that the Bishop has commonly been so happy as to make other People think so too of his Arguments, as well as himself. I can tell him of some Writers of Controversy in this Age, and in the Course of this Debate, who have only raised a Dust before their Readers Eyes, and shew'd a wonderful Art in puzzling and perplexing a Cause, without clearing up any Truth, or perhaps believing one Word themselves. Nothing can be stranger than this, except what he further advances here, That the Bishops pleading for the sole Authority of Christ in Matters of Religion, and the Purity and Simplicity of the Christian Doctrine, as it lies in the New Testament, should give Advantage to the Cause of Superstition, and the Doctor's Opposition weaken it: Unless he would speak out, and declare, that having a close and immediate Regard to Jesus Christ, is Superstition.

'Tis worthy Observation, that tho' the Bishop has been thought by all Impartial, and some Interested Persons, to be particularly happy in his *manner of Writing Controversy*; yet the Doctor* cannot forbear disliking and censuring it. I have read many a Controversy in my time, from a great variety of different Hands; and have had the Curiosity to run thro' the whole Course of the Bishop's Controversial Writings, from his first Appearance in the World: and if an Unconcerned and Indifferent *Stander-by*, may be allowed to give his Opinion, the Bishop has the most improved by Writing Controversy of any Man I have seen, both in the Clearness and Temper of his Writings; which is pretty Singular, when Men so commonly loose their Temper at least, who have once drawn Blood in Controversy. He has acted a Part throughout this long Debate, under the grossest Perversion and Mistake of his Sense, the greatest Personal Abuses, the most Unchristian and Unfair Treatment; with such a Clearness and Compass of Thought, such Composure of Mind, and Decency of Expression, and such Degrees of superior Evidence to all his Answerers; as is not equalled in any Controversy I have seen, since the great *Original* and Pattern of Controversial Writing, so seldom imitated, Archbishop *Tillotson's Rule of Faith*. And this I will maintain, notwithstanding the Suggestions of *Vulgar Prepossessions*. I am sure the Obscurity and Diversity of Sentiment; the Artifice and Craft; the

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Vol. in 8^{vo}

Rudeness and Spite; the Levity and Trifling; the Sophistry, the Stupidity, among his Adversaries; can only serve as a Foil to the strict Truth, the open Fairness, the Skill, and the Civility of his Returns; and I dare venture to say, give him a Superiour Esteem in the Minds of all the Impartial and discerning World, of whatsoever Character or Rank.

I never knew a Christian Divine speak with so little Regard as Dr. Cannon does of the peculiar Revelations of Christianity †: 'Tis one thing to say, a sincere Heathen may be accepted; and another, that a Man may be *as Religious as any Reasonable Creature is capable of being without the Belief of a Future State*. I can hardly see how an avowed Deist could more strongly express his Sentiments than in the Doctor's Words. Nor can I otherwise account for another Expression of his a little lower; Where the Words of our Saviour himself which the Bishop glories in as his greatest *Shelter, and Defence*, this Christian Doctor represents as a *meer Shadow*, ‡ without so much as attempting to shew his Lordship that he had misapplied them.

And how can there be any true Religion without the Belief of *another World*, and considering God both as *Governour and Judge*; when that Supposition is so necessary to settle right and worthy Notions of God in our Minds, who is the great Object of our Worship and Service, and Trust and Hope? Take away this Supposition, and confine your whole

† P. 19, 20.

‡ P. 34.

View within the Compass of this World ; and the present Dispensations of Providence would give a very odd Representation of the Divine Being, and he would not appear to be either *Wise*, or *Just*, or *Good*. And what Religion must that be, which can have no better an Object than this ? or what Reason and Encouragement to be Religious at all ? The best Men in the World have been shocked with such a Thought, and ready to think in this View of the Case, that God *had made all Men in vain*. The Heathen World preserved the Religion they had among them very much under the Power of this Apprehension, tho' weak and uncertain. Our Lord every where makes the Promises and Hopes of future Recompences, the great Topick of Persuasion in all the Duties and Afflictions of Life. The Apostle plainly goes upon this Supposition ; *If in this Life only we have hope in Christ, we are of all Men the most miserable* : Which I think must hold in Proportion to the Difficulties and Sufferings of the Christian State, tho' not in equal Degrees in which it did to the Apostles. He makes it the peculiar Glory and Advantage of the Christian Revelation, that God will raise the Dead, and judge the World by Jesus Christ ; and Life and Immortality are brought to Light by the Gospel. And expressly tells us, *That he who cometh to God, i. e. in a Way of Worship and Service, or is truly Religious ; must believe that he is, and that he is a Rewarder of them who diligently seek him* ; and Moses and Christ acted upon this Principle, of Respect to the Recompence of Reward, and to a future Joy.

I entreat the Reverend Doctor to receive Correction here from the Excellent Pen of the present Bishop of Rochester*. *How must it afflict a good Man to consider that our unhappy Disputes about Rites and Privileges should spread themselves into Points of a Foreign Nature, and of the most sacred Importance: to pursue them to the Horns of the Altar without any Regard to the Interests of our Common Christianity. What, can't we differ about Adjournments, without differing also about the Evidences of a future State?—Is their Conduct less liable to Reproach, who are not ashamed to espouse even the Cause of Infidelity itself, rather than miss an Opportunity of expressing their Resentment against Men they do not like, and of keeping up their little Party Interests and Quarrels?*

There is no doubt of the great Advantage of good Education †: We must be guided by Others till we are able to act for our Selves; and 'tis a great Happiness to fall into good Hands at first: But are we to be always Children, and under the meer Impressions of Education? Must we be virtuous and good by Others Instructions and outward Restraints, and not by our own Consent when we come to be capable of it? The Doctor owns the Principles of Education lead more Wrong than Right, and brings them up in Superstition and false Religion. And tho' the *Natural Obligations* we are under to God, are not Matter of Choice, but founded in natural Right, and

* Preface to his Volume of Sermons towards the End.

† P. 20, 21.

Antecedent, and Independent on any Act of ours; yet our owning that Right, and Regard to those Obligations, is Matter of *Choice*, and no Man can be Conscientious in discharging them, but upon proper Convictions, and with free Consent.

'Tis a Question with some, how far *National Governments*, as such, are obliged to set up the *Publick Worship* of God, and appoint *Places and Persons* to serve that Purpose*. I dare be positive many of the Convocation, and the Committee it self will differ from him here. Tho' perhaps on different Reasons. Christianity flourished and prevailed most, without the Countenance and under the Terrors of the National Establishment; and this leaves it to the Discretion of the Government, what the Worship, and who the Persons ministring shall be. 'Tis not so easy to conceive of Church Establishments, without such Partialities as 'tis the proper Care of wise Governments to guard against, by the Doctor's own Confession †. And yet as he represents the Matter, 'tis not much short of an *Inquisition*. I would ask the Doctor what the Christians in the Apostles Days, and in the Ages next after them, would have thought of excommunicating and inflicting Spiritual Censures on unbaptised Infidels ‡? Nor has there been any Relaxation of Discipline but upon Political Reasons: There is no Irreligion it seems in the bloodiest Persecutions, tho' there may be ill Policy in it. But what Right soever they have so set up the Publick Worship,

* P. 23.

† P. 37.

‡ P. 41.

'tis time enough to put Negative and Positive Discouragements*, when the *Order of God's Worship* is so perfect as to be without the *least Blemish or Fault*, and made an *unexceptionable Worship* as he pretends; and which I suppose is not like to be in haste: Tho' even in that Case the Authority of Christ and the Sanctions of his Laws, must be the Ground and Motive, and not the Authority of the Magistrate, to render it true Piety or an acceptable Service to God. Nor is it in the Office or the Power of the Magistrate to make Men truly Pious, but to encourage a Reformation of Manners; and punish open Vice; at most to maintain the outward Order of God's Worship. And for the Use of Worldly Motives, tho' the Legislators Principal Ground and Reason were a Regard to God, which yet I doubt is very seldom the Case; yet that would not warrant the Use of them to that Purpose, if he has no Right to do so: He has other Things to employ his Care about, and Religion other Motives, more suitable to its Nature, and more likely to be effectual: Nor would this prove the Man, who by these Motives is brought to express a Regard to God and Religion, to be truly Religious; because as far as the Man is concerned, *God is left out of the Supposition.*

The *Terror of the Lord* may influence a good Christian Magistrate to be Religious himself; and be the Reason of a willing Choice†; but he cannot therefore *apply the Terrors of this World*

* P. 13.

† P. 26.

to the Minds of Men, where the Other is applied by Christ; unless he could make them receive proper Convictions, and be answerably influenced by them. And will he suppose a Religion not freely Chosen, possible to be Sincere, or true Religion in God's Account? The Magistrates thought Themselves oblig'd to promote the Superstition and Idolatry of a false Religion*, long before our Saviour appeared in the World: Are they therefore confirm'd in that Right? Is it left in full Vigour and Strength? I would fain know, what is that Purity of Mind which the Magistrate is oblig'd to encourage; and how there can be any plain Breaches of that Purity which is properly speaking, a Secret and hidden Thing; and how he can lay on Discouragements, and Penalties, without Evidence and Proof? 'Tis unfair and absurd to argue from the Jewish Constitution to merely Humane Establishments; or make that the Pattern and Obligation to every other Government. For I would ask the Doctor, whether those Laws among the Jews, which inflicted severe worldly Punishments upon Offenders against God, were not by God's own express Appointment, and not the Magistrate's Authority or Pleasure? And whether he might not as well argue from the Jewish Sacrifices as the Jewish Penalties?

In the long Paraphrase on Acts 17. † I can see nothing to the Doctor's Purpose, or which affects the Bishop, but upon this modest Supposition, that the Bishop approves the A-

* P. 27.

† P. 28.

thenian Idolatry, or is against the Worship of One true God, and the Judgment of the World at last by Jesus Christ; in which Things, I believe he is one of the last Men that will be suspected.

And now I heartily join with the * Doctor *in leaving the sensible* (especially if he is a Christian) Reader to determine the difference between the Bishop, and Him, in their Thoughts concerning Religion, and upon the Truth or Falshood of these opposite *Maxims*; on the one Hand, ‘ That the Belief of another World, is what alone renders our best Actions, Religion, as ‘tis the Principle within us, from whence they flow; and from whence, when they do not flow, they cease to be Religion.’ On the other Hand, ‘ That a certain Perswasion concerning a future State, is not necessary to a Man’s being Religious; and that he who has a Right Sence of Duty to God, † and puts his whole Trust and Confidence in him, without laying claim to any Promise, or so much as having a certain Expectation, of a future Reward after Death, is as truly Religious as a Man is capable of being.

I can’t tell whether the References to the Doctor’s Book are sufficiently explicite without casting an Eye over it as you go along; But as the chief Excellency of the Book is, that ‘tis very *Grave* and very *Short*, I thought it would be a double Impertinence to be

* P. 34.

† P. 26.

Witty and Long in remarking upon it, especially when I only designed a Letter, from

Your Respectful Humble Servant:



To the Author of the Occasional Paper:

● *S I R,*

I Had a Design to recommend to your Animadversion, a Paper, under the Title of *Suspiria sacra*, but I was diverted from that Thought by two Reasons; the one was, that I had much rather you should entertain the World with Subjects of your own Choice. Go on, Sir, to vindicate Religion, Morality, Liberty, and Catholick Christianity, from the Disguises, under which selfish and worldly Men have thrown them. Men, who call themselves Ministers of Christ, and Members of the Protestant Church of *England*; and yet, if there be any thing in the present State of Religion that needs to be Sighed and Groaned over, no Men in the World have contributed more than some of them, to bring it into that Condition. The other Reason was, that I did believe it would be a very disagreeable Task to a Person of your Taste to Remark upon such Writing. Such a mixture of bullying and whining, could not but mind me of a certain Name-sake of the Doctor's, who swagger'd in it that he could *Kick half the World*; but fighted upon it, that *half the World* kicked him.

■

There

There has been a great deal of Sighing and Groaning among some Folks, since King GEORGE came to the Throne; since the Victories, at *Dunblain* and *Preston*; since the *Kingdom of Christ*, has been demonstrated *not* to be of *this World*; that is, since the Kingdom of *Great-Britain* and *Ireland*, have been preserved to the Protestant Line, and the *Church* restored, to its only Sovereign and absolute Law-giver. And tho' I would not assert the *abovenamed*, are among the Doctor's Troubles, or meant by that Groan in the Title Page, *Deliver Israel, O God, out of all his Troubles*; yet I will assert, that the Doctor's *Suspiria*, can no more be called *Sacra*, than *those abovementioned*, unless it be in the Sence of the Poets,

Auri sacra Fames——quid non

For a Man to Sigh and Groan over the only Principles upon which *Christianity* could come into the World! the Reformation break its way from Popery, or be preserved from sinking back into it again! Over Principles, without which, all Religions are on a Level; that is, equally good for nothing! For a Man to Sigh and Groan over any Purposes of acting suitable to those Principles, by *doing as we would be done by*; and restoring the Injured to their Native Rights; and restoring the Crown to the Freedom of employing its Protestant Friends, whom it thinks fit for its Service, without asking leave of the Parson! To Sigh and Groan, when the Church was never more Safe, nor the State in more Credit; and every Prospect most promising, but what arises from the Insatiableness of those

those Men, who under Colour of Religion are engrossing this World to themselves: This, I say, is an *Instance of that Impunity* (the Doctor complains of) *with which the Press discharges Torrents, to the infinite Reproach of the Christian Faith, and the imminent hazard of the three Kingdoms.*

When I first cast my Eyes upon the canting Title, *Suspiria Sacra*, I guess'd without turning over two Pages, what they were; and said to a Friend that stood by, that the *English* of *Suspiria Sacra*, was thus: Oh that ever the Doctrine of Christ's being the sole King in his Church, and Judge of his Subjects in all the Points relating to the Favour and Displeasure of God, should dare to appear among us! Oh that it should be a Part of the Protestant Doctrine, that no Men upon Earth have a Right to make any of their own Declarations, or Decisions, to affect the State of Christ's Subjects with regard to the Favour of God! Oh that ever Men, living and acting as becomes those who wait for the Appearance of an All-knowing and Impartial Judge, should dare to think that in such Behaviour, they might be without the Fear of Mens Judgment! Oh *Tempora*, Oh *Mores*! What Heresies! That Men's Title to the Favour of God should depend upon real Sincerity in the Conduct of their Consciences; rather than upon Humane Benedictions, Absolutions, Denunciations, and Excommunications! Which will now be no longer thought to determine either God's Favour or Anger toward Christians! Oh, this comes of Peoples being allowed to understand Scripture for themselves, instead of depending upon the

Church! for want of which safe Dependence, even some of our Bishops have run into the Heresy of asserting the *Bible to be the Religion of Protestants*; and that the Motives of this World, are not appointed by Christ, nor fit in their Nature, to promote his Kingdom, which is *not of this World*. And that the forcing Men to profess *against* their Consciences, or be silent in *Spite* of their Consciences, where the Civil Peace is not Concern'd, should be Popery! *Oh deliver Israel* — from the Liberty of the Press, from the Freedom of Disputation, from the Writings of the Bishop of *Baugor*, from Toleration, and Moderation; from the Repeal of Acts which punish without Crimes!

— While I was running on at this rate, Sir, says my Friend, this is the true meaning of all his Noise. But as he has order'd the Matter, it is such a Rhapsody, such a Medly of *South, Stillingfleet, Sanderson, Coleman* and *Dawson*; such loose incoherent Fustian; as I believe was hardly ever heard from, or publish'd by, any Fanatic, since the Name *Fanatic* has been translated from its original Import, to signify any thing that the *Governing Clergy* do not like. For, continues he, as free as this Author is with the Term *Fanatic*, which he lays on so thick and fast, if the Temper of this Author be prevailing among the Clergy of the Church of *England*, they may take the Title among themselves, for I question whether the wildest Sect among the Dissenters do so well deserve it.

Criticks give us this Account, how *Fanaticus*, which in its Primary Signification had an honourable Meaning, came afterwards to be a Term

of

of Reproach ; *Quia Sacerdotes cum Responsa dabant, Furore pleni, insanire videbantur* *. Because the Priests when they gave the Answers of the Oracles, filled with Fury, were seen to Rage and Rave like Madmen. If that be reason for an Application of the Word in the reproachful Sence, then I am sure the truer Title would have been *Suspiria Fanatica* ; for when you come to read the Paper, you will see that they are more like the Rants of one that Raves, than the devout Breathings of a Son of the Church. He Tosses and Foams, he Bounces and Whines——and you cannot but smile at the Air he gives himself, all the while he is dealing out, what he thinks Wit, fine Strains, clinching Stroakes, and sublime Language.

And this must be called the *Church of England's Memorial*——We have had of late several of these Memorialists, Pretenders to speak the Sence of the Church, when they are only delivering the Language of a Faction. He had better have let the Word *Memorial* alone, because it brings to Mind a famous Thing of that Name ; which was a Collection of Groans too, or *Suspiria Sacra* (i. e.) Sighing for Places. All was a going into a Flame. The Queen her self was given to understand, in a menacing Manner, that *Nature would Rebel against Principle*, if they were not put into such Places ; for as a good Writer has observ'd, *when a leading Man begins to grow Apprehensive for the Church,* you may be sure that he is either in danger of losing

his Place, or in despair of getting One. It's pleasant on these Occasions to see a Notorious Profligate seized with a Concern for his Religion, and converting his Spleen into Zeal. As for our Memorialist, I may entirely acquit him from the charge of his *Nature Rebelling against Principle*, for his Nature and Principles too well agree. A Spirit, the worst, one of them, that ever I met with in my Life; and Principles, upon Examination, I believe, that will appear as vile as ever came from Jesuit or Enthusiast; for all his *Admonition to Jesuits and their Patrons from the Statute Law*: Which is all Blunder, and turns the Ridicule upon himself, where he design'd a Sneer upon some Body else: For which I refer him to the Author of, *Dr. Snape Instructed in some Matters, especially relating to Convocations and Converts from Popery*. In which, Dr. Dawson too, may be Instructed, that there is no necessity of a formal *Renunciation in the Face of the Church*, nor any Law of the Land, or Canon of the Church, however he would force his private Interpretations of them, that requires any such express Ceremony. The Statute of 35 *Eliz. ch. 1* relates to Popish Recusants Convict, who are her Majesty's Subjects; and the Title is *to retain them in due Obedience*, with no manner of Reference to the receiving of Foreigners and Strangers, into our Religious Communion. Their abjuring there, is only to abjure the Realm; and their open *Submission and Declaration of Conformity*, there prescrib'd, was to avoid legal Prosecution

* *Dr. Snape Instructed, &c.* p. 23.

and Penalties, and give a Security to the Civil Government. The other Forms in Law are the Oaths of *Supremacy*, of *Allegiance*, and the *Test of Renouncing Transubstantiation*, &c. which indeed, are such full and effectual Forms of Abjuring Popery, and the Principal Tenets of it, that this seems a good reason why no other *Publick Form* of Recantation has been yet required by any Law of the Land. There is not a Line of all the Doctor has Extracted from the Statute Law, that bears home to the Point it is levell'd at. Nor any thing more Jesuitical in the Fraternity against whom those Laws were made, than the Innuendo in the Words *JESUITS and their Patrons*. For to return the Doctor's Query, in p. 56 of his Memorial, I also Query. *If a Person who owns himself to have been a Jesuit has given all such Proof of his being Otherwise, as the Law of the Land Directs, and Requires, and more than ever is required, out of the abundance of his Satisfaction, Sincerity of Heart, and Conviction of Mind; whether such Person can be set forth to the World as a Jesuit still, but to serve a Jesuitical Purpose?*

It's time for me now to take Notice that this Memorial is dedicated to his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Absence of the Convocation. This Absence of the Convocation, I suppose, must be taken for a Sigh too. But methinks there is no Room for it here at all; for the Doctor being a Member of that Convocation, which was so fired at the Apprehension of the Bishop of Bangor's Impugning the King's Supremacy; and Observed it with so much Grief of
Hearts

Hearts *: He must needs rejoyce with them; to see the *Supremacy* Exert it self, at a Season; when it might give full assurance, that no Infection of that Doctrine had in the least reached the Crown.

There was no great Manners in Addressing this Heap of Tales to His Grace of *Canterbury* at all: An Invective against all Changes whatsoever; against the least Condescension or Compliance; against altering any thing, in Articles, Discipline or Rituals, of the Church; when as, if I remember right, it is not above Ten Years ago, since *Bishop Wake* delivered his Opinion as freely, and in a very Solemn Assembly, in Favour of that *Wicked Design* of Comprehension: Telling us, no less a Man than *Archbishop Sancroft* was in it: And, in a Manner that became so excellent a Person, rebuking the Vehemency of another Pious Doctor, who talked of it in much the same Strain with this Memorialist †: And appealing to the Audience whether the Prosecution of that Design, would not have been for the Interest of the Church of *England*,

It is true, he is since become *Archbishop of Canterbury*; but that rising Ground, I am willing to believe, has inabled *His Grace*; the more clearly to discern, the happy Consequences of what he before spoke so favourably of. This Doctor tells us, indeed; of a *Noble Stand*, his Grace made some time ago in the House of Lords; yet I dare proceed so

* Report of the Committee.

† Speech at Dr. Sacheverel's Trial.

far, too, as firmly to believe, that his Grace will never approve that heathenish Advice, which this Doctor lays before him in Page 8 of his Preface, which I shall hereafter take a little more Notice of.

He begins his Address, *When I consider* (here he makes his Bow) *the many Adversaries the Church of England has to engage with at this time, 'tis matter of the greatest Grief and real Concern,* (tis so great that it is even Real) *that I am forced to Introduce one of their own High Order, &c.*

When I consider the many Friends the Church of England has, to stand by, support, defend, her; the Laws in her Favour, the Temporal Advantages that attend her Communion, her full and intire engrossing of all Privileges and Immunities, Favours and Grace of the Government, in Church and State; 'tis Matter of the greatest Astonishment to see some People, so insatiable and implacable.

He is forced to Introduce the Bishop of Bangor as having become one of the greatest disturbers of the Unity of the Church. I would ask this Doctor of Divinity, Member of the Convocation, what is the Church? In what consists the Unity of the Church? What is it to *Disturb* that Unity? What is it to be the *greatest* Disturber of it? He seems to have no Notion of all these, but that of Uniformity of Articles, Rituals, Prayers and Ceremonies; including a dependance on the Bishop; which also composes another Doctor's *Beauty of Holiness*: All which may be wherethere is not a Dram of that *Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace*, recommended in the Divine Writings. Let this Gentleman know,

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that

that the greatest Disturbers of the Church's Unity and Peace, have been, are, and always will be, the Patrons of that Church Power which the Bishop of *Bangor* has wrested out of the Hands of weak Men : Hands no more fit to wield that, than the Thunders of Heaven : And lodg'd it in those Hands, where only God ever trusted it, those of our Saviour's. He has appointed the *Bible* to be our Religion, and mutual Charity to be the Center of *Unity*. The Bishop of *Bangor*, by showing, that Christ has done so ; is, it seems, the *most fatal Subverter of the Church's Establishment*. This is Sattyrical upon the Establishment, to represent it such, that a Christian Bishop cannot lay open to the World, the Scripture Doctrine, in these Cases, without falling foul upon the Establishment. The Business of Establishment has little to do in such Disquisitions about the Scripture Doctrine, unless we go to the *Statute Laws* for our Religion, as well as for *Admonitions to Jesuits*. But how comes the bringing us back to our Bibles to be the *most fatal Subversion of its Establishment* ? I should have thought, that of the two, the carrying us clear away from them to *Pope*, and Tradition, *more fatal*.

Or how can the bringing us back to our Bibles, be, as the Doctor goes on to call it, *a disputing away the very Foundations of Faith*, and *resolving to unbinge the best of Churches at once* ? What other Foundations of Faith has this Man got, besides his *Bible* ? Does he not *build upon the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets* ? Or is an Act of Parliament the Foundation of his Faith ? What *Hinges* does this Man's Church turn

turn upon? Is it *Unbinging* and Subverting a Protestant Church, to fix it upon the *Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief Corner-Stone?* Without which every *Foundation* is Sand, and every *Bailding* Hay and Stubble, and every Advantage of Establishment (which is the great Concern, *hinc illa Suspiria*) common to the best and worst of Churches, Truth and Error, Superstition and Religion?

In answer to the remaining Part of this Paragraph, I need do no more than play back upon the Doctor his own Words; putting the question, where *Human Inventions are Sacred Institutions of Christ*; to show, that the Exercise of all that Power, Ecclesiastical or Civil, which some Men contend for, is Tyranny and Usurpation: To let shallow Reasoners know, that while they insinuate, that the Church must needs be Chaos and Confusion, without their Supplements to the Laws of Christ; as if those Laws have not sufficiently provided for the Regularity of his Society; is to Blaspheme our great Law-giver, *who was Faithful in all his House*. To show, that the *Bible*, which is plain in all necessary things; that a *free Debate*, mutual Charity and Forbearance, and Allowance for different Apprehensions; with the Magistrates Care of the Publick Peace, to whom it belongs; that these, are an *effectual Provision*, under the Influence of Providence, to maintain Truth, and preserve Peace and Order; and that the Subjects of Christ's Kingdom are left at Liberty, to think, and speak, and act, not as they please (as the Doctor designedly Words it) but as they think they ought, after their sincere Endeavours to

come at the Knowledge of his Will; and that *without* any Coercion or *Restraints*: These are no longer *Scruples*, at all, with any, but the Enthusiasts of the *coercing* and *restraining* Clan: And the having set these things in so clear a Light, and supported them with so good Evidence, instead of what he calls here an *Indelible Reproach to the Episcopal Character*, will place his Lordship at the Head of a new *Æra* of Liberty and Truth in the World, (however he may mistake in some Points) and transmit his Name with Renown to the latest Posterity.

How can the Doctor say, that, because Christ is the sole Law-giver of his Church, and the Bible our Religion; and our Salvation depending not upon particular Methods of Religion, but Sincerity in the Conduct of our Consciences; that therefore there can be *no Argument used from the Truth, Advantage, and Necessity, of embracing the Doctrines of Christianity to Jews, Heretics, or Schismatics?* When the Conclusion lies quite the other way; that therefore, we may urge Arguments from the *Truth, &c.* because they are most likely to be effectual, where Sincerity conducts the Conscience: And on the other Side, if that *Coercion and Restraint*, which this Gentleman declares for, must be used, there is then no need of Argument to *Jews, Heretics, and Schismatics*: For arguing is a Jest, when Evidence or no Evidence, Conviction or no Conviction, Men must comply: 'Tis Nonsense to pretend to argue with any one upon this Man's Scheme, which allows not a Man to *judge* of an Argument.

The Writers of this Size, I have observed, affect to make an *Eternal Jingling* with the Sounds,

Sounds, *Herefy and Schism*, &c. One of the worst *Herefies* in the World, is the Doctrine of Coercion: It robs God of all Reasonable Service, stocks the World with *Hypocrisy and Atheism, Cruelty and Violence*: Offers such Sacrifices to God, that for any Man to say that God is pleased with them, has nothing worse left to say of the Devil himself. And as for *Schism*, I defy this Doctor to clear himself of it, while he remains in the Temper and Spirit with which he wrote this *Memorial*.

For any one to say (says the Doctor) that such a Prelate is in the Interest of the Quakers, or Socinians, or Papists, is a Charge as has been already very well observed, equally unjust with saying that he is in the Interest of the Church of England. And yet it follows; He may now therefore engrave Sincerity upon a Badge; and when Jews, Turks, Christians, Barbarians, Indians, and Hottentots, have fixed it upon their Breasts, let this British Noailles deny if he can, that they all belong to the same Religious Household.

What Right has this Man to complain of an *Insulting Infantry of Wits*, who can thus *Insult* a Governor of the Church? What Right has this Man to any Civilities, from those, who may have a mind to show him to the World? His Lordship of Bangor and the *Hottentots* are of the same Religious Household; and let him deny it if he can. And all this because his Lordship has asserted, with the whole Bible on his Side; that *Sincerity in the Conduct of a Man's Conscience*, is more toward the Favour of God, than any particular Methods of Religion. This Man does not seem to know, that a Sincere Hottentot is in a better State than a Hypocrite: That an Hypocri-

pocritical Profession of the best Religion in the World; in all its *particular Methods*, is no more in God's account than a formal Lye: And will end in so much an hotter Hell, that I had rather be a Sincere *Hottentot* than a Christian Hypocrite: Professing Articles I do not believe; calling *Jesus Lord and Master*, and yet clapping my *self* into his Seat; may well lead one to apply that Saying of Christ, that it will be *more Tolerable in the Day of Judgment* for a *Hottentot* than for such.

British Noailles! I congratulate his Lordship upon this. Where the Doctor will place the Resemblance I cannot tell, no more than I can what was in his Head to make the Comparison; while all the World will be running a Parallel, immediately, between them; that as the one is opposing the Tyranny of the *Pope over the Church in France*, so the other is opposing *Protestant Popery*, at home, or the *absolute Power* of the Clergy over the *Church of England*: The one Appeals from the *Constitution of Clement XI to the Pope better advis'd, and to the future General Council*; the other Appeals from the *Pope's Council and Clergy*, to the *Bible*, the *Principles of Christianity*, and of the *Reformation*. The *French Noailles* demands of *Infallibility* to explain himself; the *British Noailles* does the same, of *Men*, who deny themselves to be *Infallible*, and yet act as if they were: The one is making a *Noble Stand* against *Monarchical Popery*; the other, against the *Aristocratical or Republean*. The *French Noailles* is persecuted by all the Rabble of the *Jesuited Clergy*, represented by their *Dawsons* as one of the *greatest Disturbers of the Church's Uni-*

ty, the most fatal Subverter of its Establishment, who is now disputing away the very Foundations of Faith, and abundance more such *Suspiria Sacra*. And considering what the Cardinal has said, in his Appeal, he may be told by the French Memorialists, that let him engrave Sincerity upon a Badge, and when Hereticks of all sorts have fixed it upon their Breasts, let this Gallick Bangor deny if He can, that they belong to the same Religious Household. The French Noailles is for using his own Eyes in Matters of Faith, and believing upon Evidence, and not meerly upon humane Authority; and here In he agrees, in some measure, with the Bishop of Bangor; but with this Difference, that it does not appear the Cardinal is as willing, that other People, who may be in dependance upon him, and owe him Ecclesiastical Subjection, should use the same freedom with his Decisions, as he does with those of the Sovereign Pontiff: Whereas the Bishop of Bangor allows it, as well as takes it. The Doctor wants the Press to be under the Lock and Key of the Convocation; that is, of his Party in it; and then we should be preserved from Infidelity, Heresy, and Schism, as They are in Catholic Countries. And they who keep the Press will pronounce whatever they dislike, Counterband Goods. By Faith, these sort of Men seem to mean, believing as the Church believes. And by Infidelity, they mean, the not believing as the Church believes. Whereby, it comes to pass, sometimes, as well at Home as in Catholick Countries, that a Man may believe all the Articles of the Apostles Creed, his whole Bible, and keep all the Commandments, as well as his Neighbour, and

and yet in these Mens account be an *Infidel*, *Heresick*, and *Schismatick*.

The Doctor proceeds; *There's a large insulting Infantry of Wits, my Lord, without the least Reduction yet made, who would bring Deism and Irreligion into Fashion, forsooth, and make Profaneness the Character of a Gentleman,—and esteem it an Argument of Judgment and Ingenuity, to be above the Follies of Conscience—when Men are once grown able to laugh at Conscience, I presume we may, without Breach of Charity, affirm, that such Persons have no Honesty but Advantage, and that Interest is the only Endearment of their Duty to their Prince.—* I lament all this with the Doctor where it is found; I lament, also, the Occasion of that *Insulting Infantry's* growing so large. Of which one great one is, the Pretensions and Writings of such Men as this Memorialist; for Men are never more provoked to deny to Ministers even what is their due, than when Ministers presume to lord it over God's Heritage, and to have Dominion over their Faith. I lament again, that this Doctor is so little likely to contribute any thing towards the Reduction of this Infantry. I lament more still, that he himself is too liable to be rank'd among the *Laughers at Conscience*: As he must be, who laughs at Sincerity in the Conduct of it, as that, which makes the Christian and *Horror* of the same Household: For what is Conscience, without Sincerity in the Conduct of it? He must needs make light of Conscience, who is for coercing Men, and restraining them from thinking as they please (or rather) as they think they ought, when he shews no regard to Evidence and Conviction. If my Conscience is Coerced, it's all one

One to me, whether it be by the Council of Trent, a Convocation, or an Assembly of Divines. And to me, they are all Laughers at Conscience, who can make so light a Matter of it, as to force me against my Conscience, or punish me for conducting my self by it, though without any Crime against the State.

*g. Must, is
great Lame*

When Men are once grown able to laugh at Conscience.—(says the Doctor) what must Conscience here stand for? For the Publick Conscience, or a Man's private one? Not this latter, sure, for this is Sincerity; the formidable Badge of the British Noailles: 'Tis that which the Apostle Rejoyced in, the Testimony of his Conscience that in Sincerity and Godly Simplicity he had his Conversation; and consequently, wearing this Badge, let St. Paul deny if he can that they all belong to the same Religious Household: Jews, Turks, Christians, Indians, Barbarians, Hottentots, the British Noailles and the Apostle Paul. Thus Conscience is laughed at! for what is Sincerity, compared with Uniformity, that Beauty of Holiness? What is inward Sincerity, in Comparison of some Particular Methods of Religion? Indeed God is said to Love Truth in the inward Parts, so far, as to declare, that in the want of it, he abhor'd the particular Methods even of his own Institution; however now it is laughed at and run down, as an Enemy to Uniformity and Ecclesiastical Obedience. It disputes the Authority of the Guardians and Conservators of Religion. It bids them show their Commission, for what they say and do; and pretends to Judge of that Commission (without which it would be in vain to call for the

Noailles

Sight of it) whether it be to *Counsel*, and *Advise* what *Doctrines* may be received upon Evidence, or to *Decide and Decree* what shall be by Force whether there be Evidence or no; and to Excommunicate all that believe or propose Otherwise.

Instead of making Alterations for the Ease of those Consciences, which he seems to allow may be laughed at, without being thought one *who knows no Honesty but Advantage*; He proposes to his Grace of Canterbury, the Advice, that a great Statesman gave to Augustus upon his first Settlement of the Roman Empire, viz. That he should follow constantly the *Establish'd Religion of his Country*, (*Heathenism*) for all Innovations (though for Truth and Christianity) would foment Sedition in the State, (not without the *Pagan Priests*) and be a means to subvert his Government. i. e. Let us have our old *Mumpsimus* continued, our Altars and Temples &c. and as for the *Liberties of the People*, Augustus, they are all at your Service. In following this Advice, *Augustus* was bound to be an Enemy to the Christian Religion, and to oppose its coming into the World; was bound to defend all the Rabble of the *Heathen Deities*; and all the barbarous Medley of *Rituals*, observed in their Worship throughout the World; tho' it were in Opposition to the *God of Israel*, who should at any time become known to them. This is a Maxim that will fit all Magistrates, and Constitutions, as well as a *Roman*. What Service it would do to the true Religion throughout the World, I know not; tho' it may be of Advantage to the Priests of all Establishments. Such

Such *Advice* as this, was fit enough for an *Heathen*, whose Religion was nothing but the Invention of the Priests. Such *Advice*, would become the Mouth of a *Bonner* or *Gardiner*, whose Religion was the *Authority* of the *Church*, her *Canons* and *Councils*: But what Decency, or Consistency is there, in telling a Protestant *Archbishop* to his Face, that his Grace would rather approve such *Advice* as this, than agree to any Alterations? Tho' never so much for the better, or to never so good Purposes? *Advice* that must have hindred the Worship of the *God of Israel* taking place, tho' upon the strongest Conviction of the Pagan Superstition. That must have hindred *Christianity* entering the *Roman Empire*; and prevented the *Reformation* from Popery; which according to this *Advice*, is an *Innovation*, that all the Catholick Establishments, are to guard against: *Advice*, that obliges the Establish'd *Church of Scotland* to send away all the Innovating Episcopals; and *Advice*, that is directly contrary to the *Church's Annual Wish*, for such Alterations as may Innovate some better Methods of *Godly Discipline*; as well as to her standing Prayer; that thy Ways be known upon Earth, thy saving Health among all Nations; which cannot be answered, if all Nations follow constantly the *Established Religion of the Country*, in defiance of all Innovations.

The Quotation from *Dr. South*, (p. 2. of this Memorial) is as *Heathenish*, as that given to *Augustus*: It is suitable to the Temper of that snarling Declaimer, who seems to owe a deal of the Poignancy of his *Satyr*,

AB.

to a Resolution of being witty, in spite of his *New Testament*. However, the Doctor lays it down, as a most undoubted Truth, in Doctor South's Words, *That the best and most Apostolical way to establish a Church, and secure to it a lasting Continuance of the Truth and Purity of the Gospel, is, for the Governors and Ministers thereof, not to give Place at all, or yeild up the least lawful received Constitution of it, to the Demands or the Pretences of such as Dissent or Separate from it, though never so Urging and Unfortunate.* This, that he calls the most *Apostolical*, is in full Opposition to the Apostle's Directions, *Rom. 14. to receive him that is Weak in the Faith, but not to doubtful Disputations; let not him that eats despise him that eateth not, nor him that eateth not judge him that eateth — who art thou that judgest another Man's Servant? one Man esteemeth one Day — why dost thou set at nought thy Brother — to him that esteemeth any thing Unclean, to him it is unclean, v. 15. but if thy Brother be grieved with thy Meat, now walkest thou not charitably, v. 19. let us therefore follow the things that make for Peace, and things wherewith one may edify another, v. 20. For Meats destroy not the Work of God; all things indeed are pure, but it is evil for that Man who eateth with Offence, v. 21. it is good neither to eat Flesh, nor drink Wine, nor any thing whereby thy Brother stumbleth, or is offended or is made weak, Ch. 15. v. 2. let every one of us please his Neighbour for his Good to Edification.* I leave the Reader to judge between Dr. South and the *Apostle*, as to *Apostolical Ways*.

The

Q. "Impious
male

The Doctor tells the *Fanatics*, they must not be hired to be *Loyal* but must be Obedient for Conscience-Sake. *What? Must Fanatics be hired to do their Duty?* No sure, all Hire and Wages must be reserved for the *Church*, as well as all Power; the *Church* is attach'd to *Monarchy* (says he) by *Religious Principle and Obedience without Distinction or Reserve, at least without Treacherous Distinction or Reserve*: She has no *Gall, nor Teeth, nor Talons*; she can be Stript, and Scourg'd and Trampled upon, without ever flying in the Face of her Sovereign. She never complemented a King with any Powers, but what she was resolved to submit to, tho' with the Loss of all. Such a *Church* as this can never do a Prince any Harm; and therefore let him but get over the *Fanaticks* to him, and he must be out of all Danger. The *Church* being devoted to him by *Principle*, 'tis but bribing the *Fanatics*, and all is Safe. This Man is no Conjuror.

There is one Thing I wonder at, that among all these Sighs and Groans I can find so little bestowed upon the Danger of Religion, from Drunkenness, Debauchery and Profaneness. The *Church* seems to be in no Danger from them; no, nor would it be from *Infidelity*, if that were but good-natured enough to do the *Church's* Drudgery, as in Catholic Countries, where the *Atheist* sits in Judgment upon the *Heretic*. All manner of Wickedness never run higher in *Britain*, than under the Chaste, Pious, Prudent *Charles II.* and yet the *Doctor's Church* was in no Danger, made no *Suspiria*, no Outcries, but against

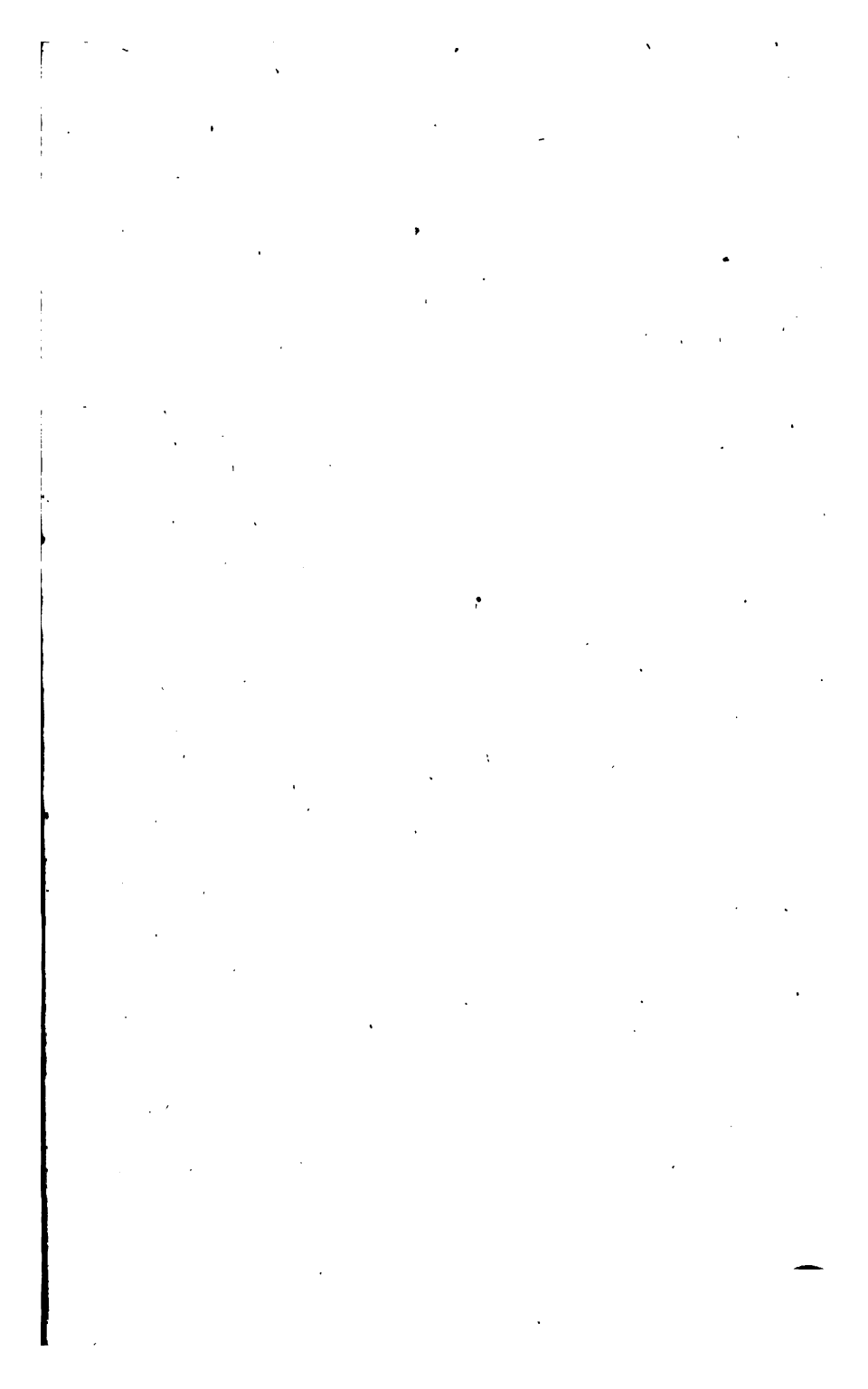
gainst those who imagin'd the Protestant Religion to lose ground. The Reason seems to be; the Liberty there was to take Vengeance upon Dissenters at that time: And if the Spirit of *Demolition* had received the same Encouragement now as a while ago, I beg the Doctor's Pardon if he thinks me too severe in imagining that then, our present *Sighers* would have been among the *Laughers at Conscience*.

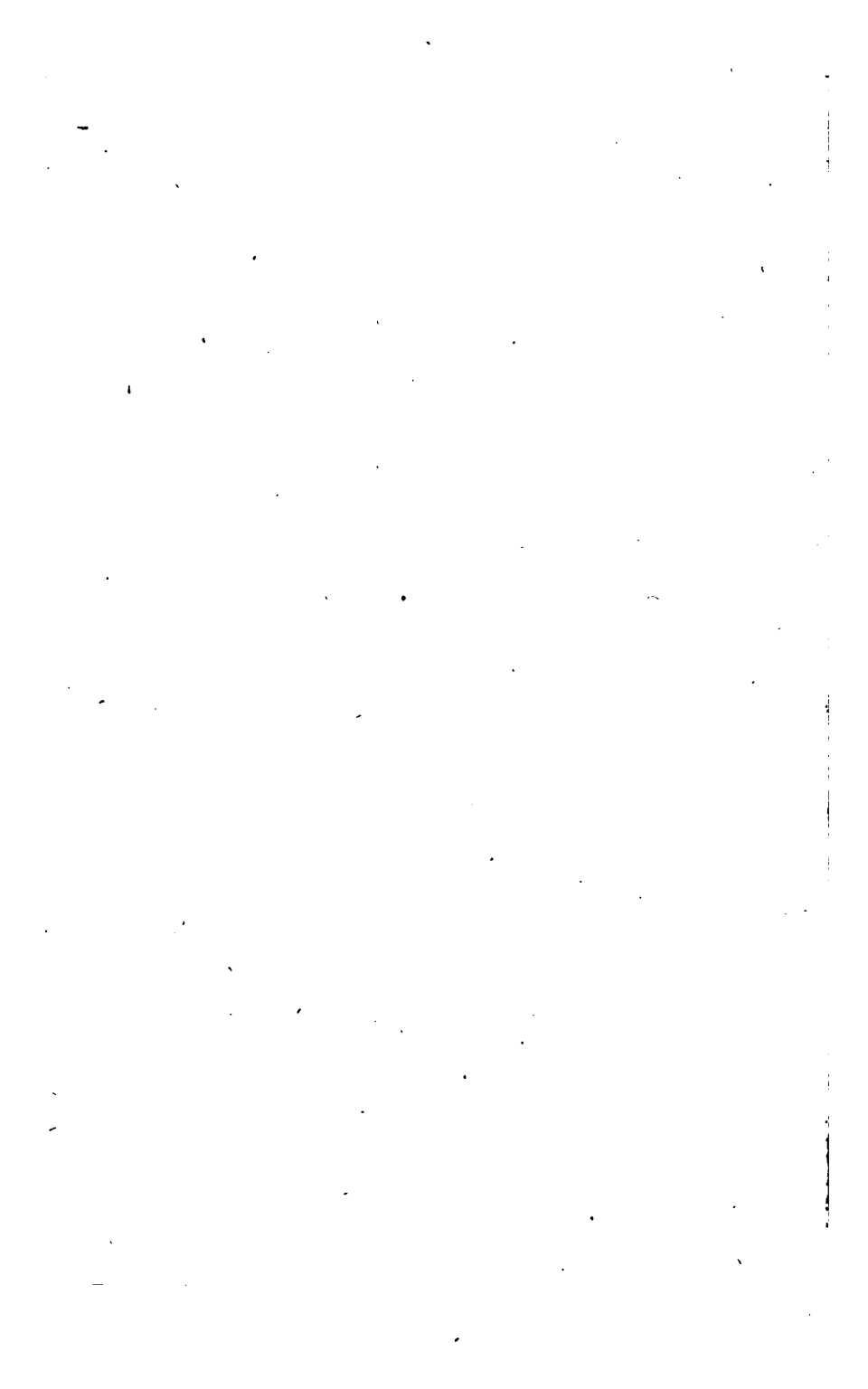
Sir, when I first began to write, I thought I should have had room for some Remarks on several Passages in the *Memorial*; but finding my Letter already grown to a length I did not intend, I shall choose to break off here, with this Observation; That, if the Government be intimidated from pursuing its true Interest, by such Sighing and Groaning as this, the *Doctor's Church* will be so far from being a *Support* to the *State*, that it will make it *Truckle* to it.

I am, Sir,

Y^{rs}

F I N I S





T H E
OCCASIONAL PAPER.

VOL. II, N U M B. XII.

A N
E S S A Y
O N T H E
Pride of A U T H O R S.

*Proud and haughty Scorners is his Name, who deal-
eth in proud Wrath. (Heb.) In the Wrath of Pride.
Prov. XXI. v. 24.*



L O N D O N:

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A N
E S S A Y
O N T H E
Pride of **AUTHORS.**



N O T H I N G is more amiable than Modesty. It entitles to universal Regard. It brightens every other Excellence, and makes all Imperfections pardonable: It raises in Mankind the most friendly Disposition to all whom they see possessed of it: And, above most other things, qualifies a Man both to give, and to receive, Entertainment and Instruction. For these Reasons it has been ever esteem'd the most recommending Quality in Conversation.

And these Things, which make an humble Man so agreeable and useful a Companion, should be sufficient to make every Author, who designs either the Satisfaction or Improvement of those that read him, solicitous to guard against every Degree of Insolence, every Expression and Mark of an haughty Mind. And accordingly it has been an usual Method, a prevailing Stratagem with most Writers, to put on an Air of Modesty; and either in the Beginning, or the Close of their Work, to disclaim all selfish Views and conceited Thoughts of their own Merit. It is true, these lowly Professions are often accompany'd with such plain Marks of Self-Esteem as to destroy their own Credit: An Author can't reasonably expect, nor does he always desire to be believ'd, when he says, His Adversary *has said more Good of him than he deserves* (a); or when he seems to allow himself to be a *weak, ignorant Writer* (b): One who thro' Ignorance, tho' with no Design of Calumny, might misrepresent the Sense of plain Words. This is so far from being the Effect of Humility, that it is a peculiar and very successful Art of Ostentation; which the late Earl of *Shaftsbury* in his *Advice to an Author* (c) rallies upon with great Justness and Humour. There appears, *says he*, such a peculiar Grace and Ingenuity in the Method of confessing Laziness, Precipitancy, Carelessness, or whatever other Vices have been the Occasion of the Author's Deficiency, that it would seem a pity had the Work itself been brought to such a Perfection as to have left no room for the penitent

(a) *The Condition and Example of our Sav. vindicated*, p. 50.

(b) P. 62. Ibid.

(c) P. 171.

PRIDE of AUTHORS.

nitent Party to enlarge on his Demerits. Now this does very well in a Corollary or winding up; it ends pathetically, and the Reader doubtless will be ready on these Terms to give Absolution to a confessing Author for those Faults which he chuses rather to excuse than amend. This artful Endeavour to palliate it, does, among Men of Judgment, but very imperfectly secure from that Offence which is justly taken at that Delight in himself, and inordinate Value for his own Performances, so frequently to be met with in an Author.

Now since this is an Evil, to which they who send their Thoughts abroad into the World, are so generally liable; since the Tendency of it is so unhappy, as that even Reason and good Sense themselves must suffer, and appear less agreeable, when propos'd with Pride and Scorn; it is worth while to consider a little distinctly the Causes from which it may proceed. And upon Enquiry we shall find, that such is the Make of our Minds, that an imaginary, as well as real, Excellence is apt to fill us with this Vanity and Conceit. And whatever is apt to make Men expect great Defence and Regard from those with whom they converse, will tempt an Author to consider himself as superior to most that read him, and to all that write against him.

An honourable Family; a Descent from Ancestors in any Respect famous, especially if considerable for their Learning; Great Titles, Marks of Eminence and Distinction; Great Estates, whether deriv'd from others, or of our own acquiring; bearing a public Character; representing a Body of Men either generally esteem'd or fear'd; a good Measure of Popularity; a Reputation pretty

pretty well establish'd, as far as it has reach'd in the World; a distinct and thorough Knowledge of the Subject treated on, a good strong and clear Way of Reasoning, Great Reading, A Beauty of Style, An acceptable Manner of expressing his Sentiments; An Art of seeming to write to the Purpose, appearing to be in Earnest, and yet hiding a Man's real Thoughts, and keeping clear of every Difficulty thrown in his Way; These, and such like things, are ready to give an Author a very good Opinion of himself./

A Man, conscious to himself that he has one, or more, of these Advantages above other Men, is in Danger of growing Arrogant and Conceited. Few Writers have all these, in any Degree of Eminence, together. Some of them are more considerable Perfections and Advantages, than others. One of them at least, (the Colouring Art) is rather Ground of Shame than Glory.

Many fancy themselves possess'd of more of those Excellencies, and in an higher Measure, than more impartial Judges can see they have any Reason for. But were every thing of this Nature really to meet in an Author, in an envy'd Degree, 'tis very possible he may so far overvalue himself upon the Account of them, as to render what he writes less acceptable and useful.

I have been led into this Way of thinking, by observing that which, I dare say, has escap'd no attentive Reader's Notice; The uncommon Air of Distance and Superiority the Dean of *Chichester* has put on, in his late Controversial Writings. There is no Man, it seems, good and great enough to say any thing contrary to his Sentiments,

Sentiments; or so much as to put him in Mind of his own Opinions. 'Tis an unpardonable Presumption in any Man, either to answer, or censure, what He has thought fit to publish. I cannot pretend to say, whether this be *Vitium Natura*, or *Anima*; but that it is *Vitium* of some kind or other, I am very sure: And since this worthy Person himself will not Say, every Body seems at Liberty to guess, on what he founds all this self Esteem.

For my Part, I would not willingly overlook any one thing, that may help to make him appear so very great and considerable in his own Eyes.

I readily acknowledge, that his good Father, the late Dean of St. Paul's made, for a considerable Time, no contemptible Figure in the Learned World: He has left behind him, Works, which, if I mistake not, will long endear his Memory to all that believe a Providence and a World to come, and have any Regard to the Practice of Virtue, under the Belief of a future Judgment and Retributions. But nothing of this Kind is needed to raise and spread the Reputation of the Son; *Non Genus & Proavos*. The Dean of Chichester does not care to hear his Father's Name mention'd, tho' in the most courteous and obliging Manner (a). 'Tis the least thing of a thousand to him, whether the Clamour against him, and the design'd Censure of him, by a Convocation, was Right and well ground'd; or whether it was only for explaining and vindicating a Doctrine of the Church, in the Integrity,

*Haylock
in Proverbia
Judgment &c*

(a) *Confid.* p. 62. 63.

Integrity, as well as Zeal of his Heart (a). An Egregious Instance of that Heathen Virtue, Pietas erga Patrem.

But his Titles, his Dignities and Preferments seem to weigh more with him. These he regards among the Things *Que fecimus ipsi*. As being the immediate Fruit, and the hardly sufficient Reward, of his personal Merit; And Entitling to the same Privileges which a raised Station and a plentiful Fortune, are wont to give Men in Conversation. Upon the Foot of these Advantages, he Demands to be read with uncommon Defe-
rence and Respect; and without any Contradiction from all who cannot be supposed to have so much Sense and Knowledge, as he has, by some Thousands of Pounds. Must not he be very insolent and ill-bred who shall presume with half his Estate, to convince a Man of his Substance and Figure of any Contradiction or Mistake? Without any Concern to answer what is wrote, 'tis hard if a wealthy (b) *Dean* may not leave it to the World to judge, whether a Man ought to be supposed to have any Proportion of his Capacity and Judgment, who has not a fifth Part of his Dignity and Preferment.

But as great as he thus becomes in himself, he would think it an Injury should his Readers consider him merely as a private Person. He will be regarded as writing in *Vindication* of a *Constitution*, and so appears with the Authority of a *whole Church*. Surely a Member of a Committee of Convocation, when an Author in their behalf, may give himself out to be consider'd as *that Committee*,

(a) *Bang. P. S. to Sykes. p. 92.*

(b) *Conf. p. 66. 67.*

mittee, and that Committee as the *Convocation*, and the Convocation as *the Clergy of the Nation*. And a Reader must be very uncourteous, that does not regard the high Merit, collected together and summed up, by this Political Arithmetick, in one Person. None of those who peruse him, can sure, with any Modesty, think otherwise than he will allow; or appear to oppose him with any Decency, when they are to know, that if they shall be so hardy as to do so, they must of Course be *Enemies to the Church*. And whatever they say, if it has any Weight of Argument in it especially, must be bitter *Insinuations* against the *Clergy*. What a Gentleman of such Consideration as this, is pleased to make publick, should, it is supposed, *stop the Mouths of the Enemies of the Constitution* (a). And if it should not; but there should be found some, who, notwithstanding, should still think, and crave Leave to let the World know why they think differently; sure a Person of such accumulated Merit may have the Priviledge of declaring, without being charg'd with *Pride* or *Arrrgance*, that *he shall not value them* (b).

The *Dean* seems sensible, that by his accurate Preaching, and what he had already publish'd, he had obtain'd a very desirable Measure of Esteem among competent Judges. And he had both Reason and Inclination, to value himself more on the good Opinion another venerable Body of Men heretofore had of him,, than on the Regard shewn him by the whole Convoca-

B

tion.

(a) *Vindic. of Corpor. and Test Act's Preface.*

(b) *Ibid.*

to

An ESSAY on the

tion. This, his partial Friends and fond Admirers have made so unhappy an Use of, as to insinuate, that he need but write like himself to *outshine* every Body else. And is the Justice, or Exactness, of their Opinions to be call'd in question, or suspended? If the Publick has any Manners, it is expected it will conform to the Sense and the Approbation of the most Knowing and Judicious. The Credit of great Weight and Ability among Men celebrated for Wisdom, should entitle to universal Esteem. The whole World must offer the same Incense to him, which they see others do, or they will betray their own Ignorance, false Taste, and wrong Judgment; which will make them rather the Objects of Pity and Scorn, than of Regard.

*Dean
the style
excellent*

But notwithstanding what may be said against the *Dean*, it must be own'd, that he generally commands a clear and a grateful *Style*. This is a very great Happiness in an Author, to be able to express his Sentiments in an agreeable Manner; and 'tis what Men are as apt inordinately to value themselves upon, as any one Qualification whatever. They who know themselves to be Masters herein, are frequently tempted to write on Subjects, where nothing can support them but a peculiar Elegancy, which they fancy must recommend all they say. And hence it comes to pass, that upon the least Variation of the *Manner of Expression*, those Things which seem to *serve* a Cause, shall be turn'd quite *against* it. The fine and handsome Passages which a Man may think mighty Embellishments to his own Arguments, shall be apply'd with more Truth, and consequently used with much more Effect, on the other Side.

Side? Nay, sometimes an Author shall grow so vain and proud of his own Manner of Writing, as to think himself capable of giving the fairest Colours to the foulest Errors, or the worst of Causes. A Consciousness of an happy Talent this Way, has drawn in many others, as well as helped to draw in the *Dean of Chichester*, to plead for one of the worst Things in the World, *Persecution*; and to throw Contempt upon one of the best Things in the World, *Protestant and English Liberty*. He knows that his Style is one of the best in the present Age: And therefore, tho' he should fill a Book with Falshood and Misrepresentations, he doubts not its passing well in the World. Tho' his *Quotations*, may be proved to be meer Calumnies; His Narrative and Historical Accounts (*v. g.*) of the *Incapacitating Laws relating to the Dissenters*, may be proved no better than a finely contrived Story of his own dressing up; and tho' all his Arguments must therefore of Course be fallacious; yet he trusts to their Dress, and hopes That alone will be sufficient to recommend every Thing he thinks fit to write.

The Things on which an Author may most justly value himself, are, a thorough and distinct Knowledge of the Subject on which he writes, and a Capacity and Inclination to reason justly and strongly upon it. There is no conceivable Case, in which a Man assumes to himself, with so little Offence as in this: But then it must be added too, there is no Writer so little likely to do so, as one of this kind: For the same fine Talents that make him excellent, do at the same Time lift him above that Weakness of Pride: The same Justness

Wde

of Understanding that makes an Author write a great many good Things, makes him afraid they are hardly good enough to be read. When a Man of a moderate Understanding thinks he writes divinely; a Man of a truly great Genius sometimes thinks he writes tolerably well, and is pleas'd that he should have the good Fortune to entertain and profit the World. It is not so usual for a Man to pride himself in Writing well, as in making a Shew and an Appearance only of Writing to the Purpose. Real and great Merit seldom makes Men conceited in their Opinions of themselves, or arrogant in their Carriage to others: But little Arts, plausible Colours, and cunning Disguises, are almost as inconsistent with Modesty, as they are with Integrity.

For all that appears to disinterested and impartial Judges, Mr. Sykes (not to say the Bishop of Bangor) knows full as much concerning the Subject of which he pretended to treat, as the Dean does of any of those Affairs in which he gives himself out to be so thoroughly vers'd.

I don't believe that any Body, who has seen what has been (a) reply'd to it, will imagine that he thoroughly understood, or fairly represented, the Nature and Design of those Acts he pretended to vindicate; whatever Confidence his Post in the Temple might give him, of his Sufficiency to state a Point in Law. But what then? He is very sensible, that the Cause
he

(a) Pref. to the Princip. of an Occas. Conf. and Lowman's
Toleration of the Dissenters.

he has to manage is extreamly Popular ; what the Generality of the People of this Land are at present strongly dispos'd and inclined to believe, on little or no Evidence : He knows that he has a very handsom and taking Way of telling this agreeable Story ; and what need has he to fear their Answers, or Confutations ? Every Principle much in Vogue, he catches at all Opportunities of mentioning, vindicating, and dilating upon. *In these Particulars* (to borrow his own Words, with much less Justice apply'd by him to his Lordship) *he speaks out ; However he has with more than Christian Prudence avoided declaring his Opinion in many Things laid to his Charge ;* and which he had undertaken, and publickly obliged himself to defend and make good.

And here I can't but observe, a pretty little Art this great Writer has, of wording even a Title Page, so as to prejudice a Reader in his Favour, or raise a groundless Odium in those who shall venture to oppose him. Among other things, in his Answer to the Representation of the Committee, the Bishop of *Bangor* had wrote excellently well in behalf of the great End and Design for which the *Corporation and Test Acts* were made ; viz. The keeping out Popery, and securing the Protestant Religion ; and uniting Protestants upon the true Principles of that Religion, so as that Popery may never more return among us. In a little Time out comes something design'd by way of an Answer in a Paper bearing this Title, *A Vindication of the Corporation and Test Acts, in answer to the Bishop of Bangor's Reasons for the Repeal of them : That*
is,

is, a Vindication of them against the Ends, for which they were made: For the great Ends for which they are made, are of the Reasons urged by the Bishop of *Bangor*, and are indeed now become the just and sufficient Reasons for which they should be repeal'd. Besides, by such a Title as this, the Book is secur'd from an Answer from any Hand that would dread (as who does not dread) being esteem'd an ill Churchman; and is sure of the Applause of all the true steady Friends to the Church, whether they read any farther than the Title Page, or no.

But he has improv'd and refin'd upon this Answer in his last Pamphlet; and with a disingenuous Artfulness, beyond what I ever remember to have met with in any Writer of Controversy, he has chose a Title, against which it would be look'd upon as prophane and unchristian to write: *The Condition and Example of our blessed Saviour vindicated, in answer to the Bishop of B——r, &c.* What! say the Common People presently, does this Bishop of *Bangor* impugn the *Condition and Example of our blessed Saviour* too? That's the Insinuation. When alas! the good Bishop is himself a lovely Copy of Christ's Example, and the best Defender of Christ's Authority, one of them, in the World. However, catching a Title that thus unavoidably throws an Odium on the Opponent, is like gaining the Weather-Gage in a Sea-Fight; the Fleet that is to the Leeward is sure to have all the Smoak of both Firings in their Face: For who dares write against a Pamphlet whose Title is, *A Vindication of Christ's Example, &c.*?

These

These are some, if not all the Advantages which the *Dean* brought with him into this Controversy. He values himself, more than a little, in some or all of these; and is so big with them, He can hardly forbear, in every Page, to make his Reader sensible that he stands upon rising Ground. He does not indeed, in express Words, say, what I cannot, without great and grievous Offence, hear even my Lord *Bacon* himself say concerning his Works; that *He conceives they may last as long as Books last* (a). Nor with the late ingenious Mr. *John Norris*, that he *hopes a very difficult Argument has lost Nothing by his Management* (b). But the Marks of the *Dean's* Arrogance are but very little more conceal'd, and less visible than these; and therefore can hardly be said to be less shocking; especially to any Man who thinks, as possibly some may think, they have less indisputable and solid Merit to support them.

The Dissenters indeed (a despis'd People) could expect no other, when so great a Man should condescend so low as to write against them, but to be set at the utmost Distance that Pride of Expression could contrive. And Mr. *Sykes* must not only be content to be told, but take it as a Favour that so friendly an Excuse is made for him; that however, he thought himself fit to be an Author, yet he wrote without *knowing any Thing of the Matter*. But who can with Patience see the *Dean's* Haughtiness

(a) *Epistle Dedicatory before his Essays.*

(b) *Charge of Schism.*

tiness, in the contemptuous Expressions he uses towards one, who, by the Favour of Providence, is made his Superior; and that both by his Station in the *Church*, and his Place among the *Peers* of the *Realm*. Here 'tis shameful to observe how much the *Dean* writes both out of Character, and out of Temper,

Even before my Lord had taken any particular Notice of him, or any farther Notice of the Convocation than barely to say he was preparing an Answer to the *Committee* (a), the *Dean* begins to express his Arrogance in the most unseemly Menaces. He gives the Bishop to know, that if he would pretend to justify his Sermon, he should find that 'he has a Matter of another Nature upon his Hands, than ever yet he was engaged in (b). And the Reason why his Lordship was to find it such hazardous and difficult Work to defend his Sermon, we may suppose was particularly this, because when his Lordship shall publish his Answer, the *Dean* will neither be afraid nor ashamed to own the Cause, and do the Work of the Church. I will take my Share in the common Defence of the Representation of the *Committee* in which I concurred. As ever therefore the Bishop would keep clear of so very formidable an Adversary, it concern'd him to lay aside all Thoughts of an Answer, and rest satisfied with the Chastizement he had, for Fear of worse. The same Air of Authority he had before put on, when considering himself

(a) *Ans. to Dr. Snape.*

(b) *Answer to a Letter sent to the Rev. Dr. Sherlock,*
p. 51, 53.

self no doubt, as speaking in the Name of the mighty *We* of the Convocation (a), he thus insults and threatens his Lordship: *He'll find that Something he must part with, and I heartily wish him the happier Choice.*

When, notwithstanding all 'those Threatnings, his Lordship pursu'd his Resolution of defending the Doctrines laid down in his Sermon, I know not whether the *Dean* discovers more plainly, a Meanness of Spirit in watching for any seeming Mistake in Expression, or Pride in insulting upon any such Appearance. In his *P. S.* to Mr. *Syke's* Second Letter, the *Bishop* had spoke of an Action as a Law of Christ, which perhaps is neither so unusual nor improper a Way of Speaking as the *Dean* would represent it: However, if the *Dean* had any Objection against it, he was free, to besure, to express his Dislike of it (b). But the Manner in which he does it, is worthy himself; and either above, or below any Man's Imitation. *You could not, my Lord, be accurate in the Language, if you would humour your Principle. There is a Reason and Philosophy even in Language, which some Doctrines cannot bear; as your Lordship will find, when you endeavour to justify the Expression, or support your Doctrine, without it. What Triumphs! What needless ill-grounded Triumphs are those? But this is generous Treatment, compar'd with the base Calumny which*

C

con-

(a) *Answer to a Letter sent to the Rev. Dr. Sherlock,* p. 18.

(b) *Considerations,* p. 12.

concludes his Discourse concerning the Religion of Oaths (a). He has made a shift there to represent a few Words of his Lordship in a disadvantageous Light; by tearing them from all the Limitations that lay round about them, and tacking a malicious Comment of his own to them; he has made them sound strangely shocking. The Calumny is sufficiently answer'd: But that which I would observe, is, the scandalous Use he proposes to make of this Quotation; which is not more to insult the Bishop as a rash unguarded Writer, than it is to prejudice all with whom his Judgment will weigh any thing, against all that the Bishop has publish'd, or may publish. I consider it in this Light, as a flagrant Instance of the vilest Cunning, and the most intolerable Insolence together. And I know of nothing that can add to it's native Deformity, or make it appear more odious than in itself it is, unless it be the Consideration of the very different Behaviour of the good Bishop on all like Occasions. You shall never see a Line of this Nature drop from his Pen, either under the greatest Provocations and Injuries, or upon a more than imaginary Victory. Fancy'd Conquests puff others up, and make others vaunt themselves; the most real and applauded Advantages cannot elate his Mind, or make him behave himself in any Respect unseemly. After he had fully refuted, and clear'd himself of, the Calumny, he adds, p. 21 of that Answer, 'As to the *Dean*, I assure the
' World,

' World, that after having shewn how greatly
 ' he has injur'd me, it is my sincere Desire
 ' that *this* may not lay the least Prepossession
 ' in the Way of any Reader, towards any one
 ' Argument he makes use of. He may argue
 ' very well, tho' he has used me very ill.
 ' I write this for my own necessary Vindi-
 ' cation, and not to hinder his Arguments
 ' from having all the Weight they ought to
 ' have.' Here is Candour, Modesty and
 Integrity, in an uncommon Degree: They need
 no Foil to set them off: Tho' every Part of
 the *Dean's* Conduct cannot but serve to make
 them more conspicuous.

But besides these, there are other Methods,
 which the *Dean* has, of expressing a wonderful
 good Liking of himself, and his Performances.
 I remember an Observation of my Lord
Bacon's, which he borrows from *Pliny*, in his
Essay on Vain Glory; ' Among the Arts of
 ' Ostentation, there is none better than to
 ' be liberal of Praise and Commendation to
 ' others, in that wherein a Man himself hath
 ' any Perfection. For, saith *Pliny*, very wit-
 ' tily, in commending another you do your
 ' self right: For he that you commend, is
 ' either superiour to you in that you com-
 ' mend, or inferiour. If he be inferiour; if
 ' he be to be commended, you much more:
 ' If he be superiour; if he be not to be
 ' commended, you much less.' By the help
 of this Remark, 'tis pretty easy to understand,
 and account for, the great Respect with which
 the *Dean* once and again mentions Dr. *Snape*,
 and his Writings. No Body, I dare say,
 except the Persons themselves, ever suspected

him of Sincerity in commending the *Master of Eaton* (a) for an extensive Charity; and *Mr. Law* (b) for strong and unanswerable Reasoning, in his two Letters to the Bishop. But if he could persuade the World that *Dr. Snape*, after having asserted the Right of the Civil Magistrate to terrify and keep Men in awe in their religious Capacity, had, notwithstanding this, a becoming Measure of Good Will to Mankind, almost an Excess of Charity for Christians of a different Persuasion from his own; he might the more easily obtain Credit himself, for what he thought he had occasion soon after to add, that he could with a clear Mind say, he had ever pleaded against Persecution: Which could never otherwise have been believ'd, considering that it stands in the midst of an open publick Plea for negative Discouragements, and incapacitating Laws, on the Account of meer Religion. But if *Dr. Snape* has enough and to spare, *Dr. Sherlock* can hardly overvalue himself on the much more goodly Appearance he has of Charity. And if the *Dean* can induce us to take it upon his Word, that *Mr. Law's* loose Declamations are strong, and nervous, and convincing, he himself need never fear being esteem'd, what he calls *Mr. Law*, a very considerable Writer. For I am satisfy'd, from me he won't take it as a very high Compliment, if I tell him, that he writes, as I verily think he does, something better than *Mr. Law*, or *Dr. Snape* either.

Con-

(a) *Vind. of Corpor. and Test Acts*, p. 40.

(b) *Condit. and Examp. of our blessed Saviour*, &c. p. 62.

Contempt of others is a natural Attendant on Pride. An high Opinion of a Man's own Capacities will naturally lead to a mean one of other Peoples. And this makes the Sincerity of these Encomiums very doubtful, considering how natural and usual it is with the *Dean* to throw out disparaging Reflections on all with whom he has to do. A proud Author for ever fixes upon a disadvantageous Circumstance, to lessen the Credit and Esteem of any Man whom he has Occasion to mention. A younger Person at his first Appearance in the World, tho' with Modesty, and many Marks of clear Reason and fine Capacity, shall be turn'd off with Scorn, remitted to the Ferula, tauntingly reproach'd with officious meddling in a Matter of which he knows little. The Obscurity and Privacy of a Writer, which one would think should rather protect from Injury, shall be turn'd to a Disadvantage, and made a Reason of Insult: Tho' there are Circumstances, which may make it very justifiable or necessary to lie in the Shade, and the Reasons offer'd may be nevertheless weighty, and worthy of Regard; yet this shall be call'd wounding Men in the dark, and slaying Kings by a Bow drawn at a Venture. Then (a) they take the Advantage to attack the Reputation of others, without hazarding their own. Several obscure Persons of late have insulted Men of great Abilities, and Worth, and taken Pleasure to pelt them from their Coverts with little Objections; tho', it seems, the ill Success of their Attempts has justified their Prudence in concealing themselves.

Meas

(a) Atterb. Pref. to Vol. of Sermon.

Mens Capacities and Abilities, are represent-
ed as unequal to the Task, or unsuitably em-
ploy'd: Their peculiar Talents lye another
Way, especially if they meddle with Subjects
a little out of the Way, or are thought to in-
vade another's Province; and they are put in
Mind of *Horace's* Advice (a).

*Sumite Materiam vestris, qui Scribitis, equam
Viribus: & versate diu quid ferre recusent
Quid valeant Humeri.*

When Dr. Bentley had given his Opinion of
the Axis of the Earth, and the Face of the
Moon, in his Lectures against Atheism; Mr.
Keil reproves him with this bitter Taunt (b):
'It were to be wish'd, that great Criticks would
'confine their Labours to their Lexicons, and
'not venture to guess in those Parts of Learn-
'ing, which are capable of Demonstration."
The ingenious Mr. Norris, tells the *Athenian*
Society, who had remarked upon his Notion of
Ideas, and the Nature of Sin (c); *This it is,*
when Nature is not follow'd, when Science is usurp'd;
when a Sort of Men, whose Talents were never known
to lye much towards Philosophy, will turn a Conven-
ticle into a Port Royal; and set up for Vertuoso's.

'Tis an Insolence, Scorn, and Contempt, no
way inferior to any of these, that the Dean of
Chichester, every where discovers, in his mention-
ing Mr. Sykes. Whenever he does vouchsafe
to take any Notice of him, he would be un-
derstood

(a) *De Arte Poetica.*

(b) *Keil's Exam. of Burnet's Theor. p. 70.*

(c) *At the End of his Disc. of the Beaut. p. 52.*

derstood to look down upon him with the utmost Disdain. He tells the Bishop, and unluckily in false *English* (a), *That he had as live teach Children to read, as answer Mr. S - - 's Letter : I wonder he thought it necessary to write, before he had any thing to say to the Purpose. If you like such a Second, my Lord, yet I must own to you, I don't like such a Correspondent* (b): *Nor can I imagine, what tempted your Lordship to put him to this Employment* (c). And in a later Piece, *If he would permit me to do him a good Office, I could very sincerely say, I believe he knew nothing of the Matter.*

And yet he appears to know more than the Dean thinks fit to answer; and in Spite of this Grimace, his uneasy Scorn, shews Mr. Sykes's Knowledge to be very troublesome to him; and would incline any Man to believe, that he would have lik'd him better for a Correspondent, had he found him less knowing.

But if they are Men of the greatest Merit and acknowledg'd Capacity; Skilful, and vers'd in Controversial Writing, known to be Masters of their Subject, the Pride of an Adversary will find Ways to humble them, by odious Comparison with other Writers; making them fall below themselves, and unequal to their former Performances; or representing them as beholden to others, who are below them. 'Tis with this View, the Letter in the *Flying Post*, Jan. 18 (d). ' is said to come from an able Hand, and to be writ in a Spirit very different,

(a) *Conf.* p. 64.

(b) p. 76.

(c) *Vind.* p. 13.

(d) *Cond. and Exam.* &c. p. 50.

erent, not only from the Paper in which it appears, but from that of the Bishops own.' And the Bishop is said to have inserted his large Answer, at second Hand, from Mr. Sykes. Mr. Sykes had been all along represented in Terms of the utmost Contempt, as the worthless Second of his Lordship, and one that knows nothing of the Matter in Debate between the Bishop and the Dean. But now he is grown the Worthy Mr. Sykes. And the Bishop, it seems, is not only Second to Mr. Sykes, but has inserted great Part of his large Answer from him. This Mr. Sykes, is certainly a very lucky Person in this Controversy; for he has rose from the lowest Contempt of the Dean, unfit to be employ'd as the Bishop's Second, to a Place Superior to the Bishop himself; and of a Second is commenced a Principal. The Bishop and He have shifted Places, and he has had his Turn of being, for the same Reasons, an equal Object of the greatest Scorn, and Esteem.

There is a Piece of Conduct in Controversial Writers, which hath a Mixture of much Pride, with some Stratagem in it; when, with an Air, that is very assuming and confident, they wholly overlook an Adversary, and neglect his Arguments. It is a Condescension in an Author of Quality, to instruct his Inferiors; but to controvert any thing with them, wou'd be a Stain upon that Honour, that they can't think of without Indignation. This was the Way, the present Bishop of Rochester took to answer Mr. Benjamin Hoadly. He gave out, that his Adversary was a Trifler, and his Arguments worthy only of neglect. The Party were ready enough to take it on his Word; and among them, perhaps, his Reputation and Principles too, were better

better secured, than by attempting a Vindication.

Just thus has the *Dean of Chichester* chosen to treat Mr. *Sykes's* two last Letters: He has not deign'd to consider any one thing advanc'd in them; tho' I can't but think he will have extraordinary good Fortune, if he can persuade the World to believe, that the true Reason of this Neglect is, because he does really regard Mr. *Sykes* as a contemptible Writer.

But Mr. *Sykes* may the better bear this Usage, considering that he has it in common with his Superiours. 'Tis with very little less Haughtiness he treats the Bishop of *Bangor* himself. He gives pretty plain Intimations, that he could hardly find in his Heart to make him any Reply: And, I believe, would have rid his Hands of him just as Dr. *Atterbury* did before, and as the *Dean* himself has done by Mr. *Sykes*, had not the Bishop given him an Occasion to humour the Party, and secure his Character among them, by pleading as plausibly, and as honestly as he could, for those beloved Bills. He knew this would put a great Part of the World on a false Scent; and that a Neglect of the Bishop, heighten'd with a good deal of specious Spite against the Sectaries, would pass among his Admirers for a Confutation of his Reasoning. And thus had he an Opportunity of humouring his own Arrogance, and dropping that part of the Dispute that bore so hard upon his Honour and Integrity; which, without this Shift, would have lain very heavy on his Hands.

After my Lord had follow'd the *Dean* thro' what he had publish'd, there is no such thing as Infolence in the World, if this be not a flagrant

Instance of it, for the *Dean* to tell him, who in every thing truly valuable, is so much his Superior, ' That whoever shall attempt to reply to ' It (*the Bishop's Answer*) Step by Step, would ' find himself in a very *low* and *tedious* Employment. That the World would be soon tir'd ' of a Controversy, that rises no higher than, *I ' did not mean so, and, You did mean so*: And that ' a Writer must be at a loss to spend his Time, ' who can be willing to pursue such Trifles ' thro' a Quire of Paper (a). ' Thus does he steal out of the Controversy. Thus has this mighty Man disengag'd himself from appearing any farther in it, because the Bishop himself is by far too little and trifling a Writer for Him to have to do with.

Now such a proud Contempt of the Merit and Capacity of other Men, is unreasonable and unfair. It puts a modest Adversary out of Countenance, gives just and grievous offence to unconcern'd and impartial Persons, betrays a weakness and littleness of Mind, and abates the Force of what is offer'd; makes a Man look ridiculous himself, and both invites and justifies the Contempt of others. *They trample on their Pride with greater Pride,* A proud Author dress'd with borrow'd Plumes, strutting with imaginary Advantages, assuming superior Airs, and talking magisterially, is like a Bully in Conversation, the Terror, or Scorn, of all the Company. A fair Enquirer after Truth will allow a candid Hearing to both Sides, and be as willing to receive

(b) *Pref. to Vindication.*

ceive, as to give, Light. A good Opinion of one's Adversary, and a civil Usage, makes a Controversy entertaining and instructing ; improves the Understanding, and Morals too. But this abusive Way of Writing, mingled with Anger and Contempt, corrupts Mens Morals more than it enlightens their Minds ; and for the most part does such an Injury to Charity, as the most curious Discoveries, and the greatest Advancement in Knowledge, can never compensate and make amends for.

Upon the whole therefore, if the Dean will but humble himself so far as *to accept of a good Office* from an Inferior ; for the sake of his own Ease, Credit, and Usefulness in the World, I would beg him, if possible, to lower a little his Opinion of his own Merit and Excellencies. That he may not feel all this Uneasiness, and give the World all this Trouble, every Time he sees one whom he fancies to be his Inferior slip by him and get above him : It would certainly be Prudence in him to think more sparingly on any of his real, or imaginary, Perfections : To listen less greedily to the ill-grounded, if not ill-meant, Applauses of his interested Friends and fawning Dependants. To think of something (and as great as he is, sure he is not so perfect as to be able to call to mind nothing) that may be suited to mortify him. If he has nothing else, yet methinks his having once dropp'd a Sentence, that *he has too much Sense to defend, and too little Ingenuity to retract* ; namely, 'That the Spiritual Censures of the Church seldom take Effect, till the other World ;' to recollect this ever and anon, should be enough to convince him, that he is a fallible

lible Man ; subject to be misled by Passion, Prejudice, and Lust of Power, as well as his Neighbours. And forasmuch as he professes a great Veneration for the Example of the blessed Jesus, he would do well and wisely, I think, to have the Meekness, Lowliness and Humility of our Saviour's Demeanour frequently in his Eye. 'Tis an Example that needs not to be Vindicated, but deserves to be universally Imitated.

FINIS.



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